"MUGHAL - IRANIAN RELATIONS : C. SIXTEETH CENTURY"

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DEDICATED

TO

MY DEAR PARENTS

Much has already been written and still is in the process of writing about the relations between India and Iran. But, inspite all that there are many lapses that have remained behind. In India, whatever has been written is almost based on the translations made by the Britishers with help of their assistants called *Munshis,* who used the Persian words in the sense which are known to Urdu speaking people, while the Turks and the Persians have slightly different usage of them.

The Turks all over the globe, called the invasions of their ancestors as some heroic deed, while the Persians called it Barbarianism - a question that opens many avenues to think over it. But due to a gap of communication many facts have not yet been brought to the light. As this writer has used the most recent research papers, produced in Turky and Iran, as he is Tati speaker, a dialect of Tajik Persian and interested in ornate prose, in which most of the works, related to Timur have been written, therefore it was easy for me to apprehend the spirit of the language. It is for this reason that much emphasis has been laid to use the original sources and render the related parts of it before the readers in English, being the international media of communication of the day, so that the further researchers may be done on the base of original sources.

When Mongols and after them the Tartars captured all the regions which were once governed by Muslim rulers, they needed the biographers who could record their achievements. None could do better than the Persians, because the tradition of maintaining imperial records they, had inherited from their ancestors who lived during Sassanind period and even earlier.

The Muslim historians and biographers knew the fact that the Mongols and the Tartars were the invaders and tyrant rulers. They exposed their real character and tyrannical acts in the guise of their bravery and by condemning the defeated rulers, with whom the historians were sympathetic. To expose the character of the tyrannical rulers was a hard task, for which they adopted ornate style. In the bombastic words and far fetched smiles and metaphors they presented the real history.

In other words there were functioning two streams, the main one which presented their achievement while the other, a sub stream, which mentioned the facts of their conduct, based on their tyrannical accounts. This sort of expression is still common among the Persians and the native speakers can easily understand the real spirit and the intention of the writer. It is for this reason that to know the real history of the Timurids prefound knowledge of classical Persian is basically essential. So that the full justification can be done with the subject.

Last but not the least, I would like to pay my thanks to Prof. Harbans Mukhia and Professor Muzaffar Alam extended their unstinted cooperative and gave their valuable advice and encouraged me to bring this study to friction. With thanks to all my well wishers, I wish the friendship of India and Iran to last as has also been cherished by the poet laureate, Bahar, in the following verses:

जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **'Mughal-Iranian Relations: C. Sixteenth Century'** submitted by **Mr. Karim Najafi-Barzegar** for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** is a bonafide work to the best of our knowledge and may be placed before the examiners for their consideration.

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Date : 12/6/98

Karim Najafi Barzegar

Najafi

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باز فکرم جولان گرفت — میل طبعم یاد هندوستان گرفت

تا خیالم نقش روی هند بست — یافت ذوقم جلوه طاووس مست

بلبل فکرم خوش آوایی نمود — طوطی طبعم شکرخایی نمود

دل اسیر حلقه زنجیر هند — جان فدای خاک انگیز هند

بس جهانها دارد آن خاک و هواست — هند را کان نمک خواندن رواست

آن نمکزاری که خاکش عنبر است — خار او چمپا خسش نیلوفر است

فکرها رنگین ز رنگین خوبها — رنگ بیرنگی عیان روی ما

لشکر یونان از آن بارم گرفت — عبرت از گلزار آدم گرفت

شد عرب با هند وحدت پی فکند — عاقبت آنجا عرب هم پی فکند

ترک آنجا ترکی از سر واگرفت — فارسی بود آمد آنجا پا گرفت

ایزدی بود آشنایی های ما — آشنا واماند صدای آشنا

هند بازار خرید ذوق بود — هند اکسیر عشق و شور و شوق بود

صنعت و ذوق و هنر ترکیب یافت — کاروانها جانب دهلی شتافت

ای بهار از هند دم کمتر مزن — بیش ازین بر آتشم دامن مزن

کز فراق هند بس دلخسته‌ام — نام هند است اینکه بر خود بسته‌ام

من بهار کوچکم در یتیم — دل تپان از فرقت هند عظیم

طوطی بازار کانم من مدام — طوطیان هند را گویم سلام

پس پیامی می‌فرستم سوی یار — در لطافت چون نسیم نوبهار

گویم ای هند گرامی شاد باش — سال و ماه از بند غم آزاد باش

از سر اخلاص دارم این پیام — هان سخن کوتاه کردم والسلام

Again my fancy has taken flight

And brought me India's memory bright.

As I cherished the dram of India's charm

My heart did dance and did grow warm.

The Philomel of fancy started to chant,
The ring-dove of thought its notes did flaunt.
With India I have fallen in love,
I'm in quest of India's Beauty's trove.
So warm and worthy is India's soil
Ev'n its mention makes Heaven recoil.
A Garden of Eden ambergris is whose dust
Its thorn shames rose, its weed lotus just.
Lofty ideals and meandering streams
The innocent face with effulgence beams.
From here the Greek legions took to flight,
having taken a leaf from human plight.
The Arabs came here with Unity's boon
They too did succumb here so soon.
The Turks did not here their velour moot,
The Persians alone did strike their root.
Verily our friendship had been God-send,
A friend understands the language of a friend.
India-a market place where joys were bought,
An expression of love, pleasure and delight long sought.
Of arts and culture when developed was the taste.
The caravans marched to Delhi post-haste.
O Bahar! set me not by India's tale afire,
No more fan the flame of my desire.
In India's separation I am pining away,
India's name on me holds its sway.
I - the unhappy Bahar - at Ray do reside

Away from India, with a thorn in my side.
A Saleable parrot ev'r have I been,
To the Indian parrots my salutations keen.
With a humble note, my love I tease,
Which is as delicate as the spring-breeze,
O beautiful India! wallow in mirth!
Be free for good from sorrow's girth!
This sincere wish to thee I send,
With loving salutations my epistle I end.

INTRODUCTION

> ***"Among the many people and races who have come in contact and influenced India's life and culture, the oldest and most persistent have been the Iranians..." "Few people have been more closely related in origin and throughout history than the people of Iran and the people of India...".***
>
> **Jawaharlal Nehru**

In the light of this excerpts from the *Discovery of India*, it is clear that there have been very firm and close relations between Iranians and the Indians who belong to the same Aryan stock. The though contents of the *Gathas* the sacred scripture of the ancient Persians and the hymns of the *Vedas* each other in a considerable degree. Besides, the events recorded in the *Vedas* fill in the gaps of the records of past history of ancient Persia. The cuneiform script of the rock inscriptions of Persepolis and the characters of the letters of Sanskrit script clearly indicate that both are derived from the same origin.

This apart there are several words of Indian origin in the *Shahnama-i Firdausi* and many Persian myths constitute the part of Indian culture. The number of Persian dictionaries compiled in India is larger than those prepared in Persia. Both Persian paintings, particularly belonging to the Herat School and Persian architecture influenced India, as is perceptible in the Mughal period. Many other factors proved conducive to the creation of a new art, language, culture and literature as a result of the amalgamation of Indian and Persian cultures. The best example is the Urdu language and its literature.

The Persians, even in pre-Islamic period were not oblivious of Hindustan. For the prosperous trades it was the land full of merchandise, specially spices.

Those in quest of peace paid visit to the birthplace of the Buddha, whose followers had carried his teaching even to the remotest parts of Transoxiana. The Persian sages came to this soil in search of the water of eternal life which they found in the literature of this country and carried with them the stories of the *Panchtantra,* which was first translated into Pahlavi and was christened as *Kalila-O-Damna* and it was later rendered into Arabic, Persian and afterwards into several European languages. Even today, this country, in spite of its industrial and technological progress and advancement has retained its spiritual character and is therefore, an abode for those who are in search of *Shanti* (peace, and tranquility of the mind).

Coupled with these were the invasions of the Kushans in pre-Islamic days and these were followed by those of Turks of several dynasties. After the Mongol invasion over Persia, many Turk dynasties sought refuge in this sub-continent and established their rule here. These invaders were also accompanied by sages and savants who gave a new outlook on life in the form of Sufism.

After the havocs wrought by Chingiz and Timur, Babur burst upon the scene of Hidustan in the 16th Century A.D., which paved the way for the establishment of Mughals' region over this Sub-continent. By that time the mystic order of Sheikh Safiuddin had assumed the complexion of a political movement and Shah Ismail had established the Safavid dynasty which lasted for about two hundred fifty years.

Besides the Safavid order of the Sufis, or many other mystic orders sprang into being like Sarbedarans, Hurufids, Nuqtavids and Nurbakhshid. All of them were the products of the Mughals and Timur's oppression over the Persians and all of them basically aimed at eradicating oppression and eresecution and finally throwing off the tyrannical yoke of Timur and his descendants, though these movements, too, turned political.

The Safavis, though united the country and established their strong rule over it by creating sectarian differences, but as they were extremely deficient in the knowledge of Islam, they caused irreparable loss to this religion in the later centuries.

The Safavids in the very beginning declared themselves to be the staunchest supporters and advocates of Shiism, with the result that many Muslims of the Sunnite sect were forced to migrate from their home-land and take refuge in some neighbouring country. Those who came to Hindustan were received warmly, particularly by Akbar who was much above the sectarian prejudices.

This catholicity of Akbar made his empire the cradle of Persian art, culture, literature and many schools of philosophy. This is also an established fact that the Safavids were Turkish speaking people and exhibited an unprecedented zeal in patronizing Shiism. This attitude of this made the Persian literature suffer grievously. The Mughals were also Turks and spoke Chaghtai Turkish dialect, but in spite of that they patronized Persian literature created the office of poet-laureateship and conferred the titles of poet laureate on many Persian poets.

As this study has within its purview by and large limited to the reign of Akbar, much has been left to other scholars, who will explore fresh evenness and find out the causes which gave him to a new style in Persian prose and poetry which is at present known as *Sabh-i-Hindi* or the Indian style.

It has been mentioned above that the sectarian prejudice of the Safavids damaged the cause of Islam particularly in Central Asia, Asia Minor, Transoxiana and the Indian Sub-continent. The Islamic Republic of Iran is, however, conscious of this fact and is trying to compensate for the loss by inviting Muslims of all Schools and thoughts. It is hoped that our age would be able to see the glory that Islam had been.

This should be further added that where the Safavids caused demage, the people of that regions took refuge in Hindustan. They came with Persian, but with their own dialect. Its for this reason that Persians words were spoken with different vowel sounds. But, in this paper the Indian accent of them has been adopted and where there the entries were not found in the Persian - English dictionory of F. Steingass, the words have been written, as are spoken by the natives of that region.

As for the transliteration of Persian words into English, I am aware of different Iranian and Indian pronounciations like Najmoddin and Najmuddin for example. In most cases I have preferred to follow the Iranian mode for reasons of long familiarity and to avoid confusion in my own mind. I hope an Indian reader will excuse me for taking this minor liberty. The whole book has been divided in six chapters, the detail of which is given below:

CHAPTER I :

This Chapter consists of an introduction and three parts. In the introduction the chaotic condition of Persia has been described briefly after the death of Abu Said Khan Bahadur, the last Mughal king of Ilkhani dynasty, when the whole empire was parcelled out into small princely states and the local rulers started playing havoc.

The first part deals with the political conditions in the days of Timur, his rise, extirpation of the local rulers, his recognition as the undisputed ruler of Transoxiana, his attacks on other countries, particularly Persia, causes of these attacks and the political crises among his successors.

The second part deals with the social conditions of Persia and the after effects of Timurids devastating attacks. In this part following topics have been discussed in detail.

(i) Economic crises, (ii) disintegration of social order, (iii) deterioration of moral values, (iv) prodigality of the courtiers of Timur, (v) migration of the uprooted persons to some peaceful place, particularly towards Hindustan and (vi) uprising of some politico-religious movements by priestly class.

The third part deals with the cultural situation prevailing in the society during the reign of Timur and his successors. In the chapter one, what has been pointed out specifically is that after the Mongol invasion Persia had not yet recovered fully. In the meanwhile it met with the great devastation brought about in the wake of Timurids invasion. His successive war campaigns made

this country totally bankrupt in the fields of science and intellectual activities. Though Timur, as well as his successors developed the cities of Samarqand and Bukhara, by planting gardens, constructing magnificent buildings, and establishing religious institutions yet all this they did at the cost of other countries, and uprooting their inhabitants, like historians, men of letters, architects, artisans and religious scholars, who were brought to these two cities. But the positive side of this Vandalism was that Persian culture developed greatly particularly in the field of historiography, fine arts, miniature painting, calligraphy, architecture, and glazed tile making etc.

CHAPTER II :

This chapter also starts with a small introduction. In the beginning, the spiritual atmosphere, prevailing in 6th and 7th centuries of Islamic era (13th & 14th centuries of Christian era), has been dealt with and the fact has been pointed out, that Chingiz Khan, though a heathen, had great regard for priestly class. Timur, being a Muslim, followed the same pattern by paying great reverence to saints, priests and religious doctors. This he did, so that he could rule over his subject, who were mostly Muslims, showing himself as the great supporter of Islamic faith and after him, his successors also followed the same example. The patronage of the rulers created a peaceful atmosphere for the priests and their monasteries became the centre of consolation for those oppressed by the tyrannical acts of Timur and his successors. But some saints,

more enlightened than others, could not compromise with the ruling class and refused to tolerate their unjust deeds. To raise their voice against their tyranny, they started some politico religious movements.

The first movement of this sort, came into being in Khurasan and was known as Sarbedaran movement, started by Persian Muslims. Their slogan was that they would die, but not let a single Turk or Tartar pitch his tent in their country. This movement proved a source spring for other movements like such as : Mara'shi movement, under the leadership of Saiyid Qawwamuddin Mara'shi, Hurufi movement, under Saiyid Fazlullah Naimi Astarabadi; Nuqtavi movement, under Mahmud Pasikhani, one of the disciples of Fazlullah; Nur Bakhshi movement, under Muhammad Nur Bakhsh and Baktashi movement under the guidance of Haji Baktash Wali.

Shaikh Safiuddin Ardabili was the spiritual head of the movement, called the Safavi order, which ultimately took the form of a politico-religious movement. All the above mentioned movements have been fully discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER III :

This chapter covers the events which led to the foundation of the mystic order of the Safavids by Sheikh Safiuddin of Ardabil and the spiritual path that he cared out for his disciples. What is interesting in this chapter is how the Safavis changed their mystic order into a politico-religious movement. Though

this movement brought about internal integration and checked its political boundaries, yet as Shah Ismail Safavi was deeply under the influence of the extremely conservative Shiites of Anatolia, who lived a life contrary to the tenets of Islam, therefore, at their instigation he started to convert the Sunni Muslims on a large scale who were in majority in Persia, creating many social problems in the country.

One of the problems, the Safavis were facing, was the conflict that they had with Qizilbashi chiefs who had played very important role in bringing them to power. The Safavis had declared themselves Shia rulers of the country and had gained the favour of the clergy class, who were quite against the Sufis. This conflict between the two has been dealt with and analysed in third chapter.

The rulers of the Safavi dynasty were almost contemporary with the Timuris of Hindustan. This dynasty was founded by Zahiruddin Babur. In this chapter the relations of Safavis and Timuris of Hindustan have been discussed, upto the reign of Akbar, whose contemporary in Persia was Shah Abbas I.

CHAPTER IV :

This chapter is related to the conflicts of Safavis with the Mughals and Uzbaks". The Safavis in Persia were facing two great enemies on their borders. On its western side were Ottoman Turks while in the East were the Uzbaks. The conflicts of Safavis with both of them were based on politico-sectarian differences. This part deals with the diplomacy of Shah Abbas I to meet this situation.

The Uzbeks, with the intention of crusring the Safavid power, made cordial relations with Hindustan. This measure of the Uzbaks, became one of the factors for Safavis to strengthen their ties with Hindustan and send their envoy to the Mughal court. Akbar was angry with Safavis, because they had occupied Qandhar and the relations between the two countries had become very cold, but inspite of that he rejected the proposal of the Usbaks to be their ally against the Safavis. Again, when Akbar recaptured Qandhar, the political relations between the two became normal and the envoys were exchanged.

CHAPTER V:

This chapter deals with cultural relations between Hindustan and Persia, which started in pre-Islamic days remained cordial during Islamic period and continued to be very friendly between the Safavis and the Mughals. The main characteristics of these cultural relations have been elaborated fully in this dissertation.

CHAPTER VI :

This chapter deals with the main factor that caused the migration of the Persians to neighbouring countries, particularly towards Hindustan. The main reason was the hospitality of the courtiers and royal patronage to the development of fine arts, music, literature, architecture etc. Some of the artists and artisans came with Humayun when he invaded this country to regain his lost empire, while others were invited when he regained the throne. These relations

which are considered landmarks in the history of Hindustan and Persia were on their zenith during the reign of Akbar. This factor also attracted many Persians to come to this country.

Besides the above mentioned facts, there were also other factors which caused the migration of the Persians towards Hindustan. They have been named as repulsive and attractive factors in this dissertation. At the end a brief account of those immigrants has also been given the achievements of whom have been recorded in the pages of history.

CHAPTER - I

IRAN UNDER THE TIMURIDS

INTRODUCTION

The death of Abu Said Khan Bahadur son of Uljaitu, on the 13th of Rabi-ul-Akhar 736[1] A.H/ 30th Nov. 1335 AD, practically marks the end of the supremacy and sovereignty of the Mongols in Persia. Since that year, in which the historians place the birth of Timur, till the time he became an undisputed sovereign of Transoxiana (771 A.H/1371 A.D), this land witnessed great chaotic conditions, owing to a few influential nobles of Abu Said, who taking time by forelock raised their heads with different pretensions. They pretended to lend support to the Mughals, Mongol, but, later they laid claim to their own sovereignty after having occupied different parts of their territory with the result that the Ilkhani empire was parcelled out in a number of principalities under different nobles. Among them the Jalair dynasty or the Ilkani nobles, Chupani nobles, Ali Injo, the nobles of Tuqha Timur and Sarbedaran are worth mentioning. Besides the rulers mentioned above another class of rulers also shot into prominence. These rulers had either held sway over this region before the Mongol invasion or had raised their heads during the reign of the Ilkhanid dynasty and submitted to a mightier power and paid tribute to it. The Mughals eleminated them. But, some of them got scattered and again mobilised themselves during the Ilkhanid period, but some of them survived the fall of the Ilkhanids. In the same manner the two dynasties, namely Aq Quyunlu and Qara

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1. Kamal Uddin Abdul Razzaq Samarqandi (alias : Samarqandi) ***Matla'-i-Sa'dain Wa Majma'-i-Bahrain,*** edited by Dr. Abdul Husain Nawai, pub. kitab Khana-i-Tahuri, Tehran (Iran), 1353 A.H. (1974 A.D.), p.102.
Ghayas uddin bin Humam Uddin Al Husaini, (alias : Khandmir). ***Tarikh-i-Habib US Siyar,*** Vol. III & IV, edited by Dr. Muhammad Dabir Siyaqi, Kitab Furoshi Khayyam, Tehran (Iran), 1333 A.H. (1954 A.D.) 3rd editon, p.218.

Quyunlu[1] retained their supremacy as before. While some of these dynasties retained their power only for a short while, a great number of them paled into insignificance as a result of their own weak military power vis-a-vis the other nobles. These mutual bickerings and constant warfare among themselves account for their ultimate extinction. These were the conditions in which Timur burst upon the scene.

Birth of Timur[2]

Timur, son of Amir Tarqhay[3] was born in the Birlas tribe[4] at Kash, the city known as *Shahr-i-Sabz*,[5] (Transoxiana), situated in the south of Samarqand, between this city (Shahr-i-Sabz) and Balkh. He spent his childhood in his tribe

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1. Aq Quyunlu and Qara Quyunlu are two Turkish words. The first means white sheep and the other black sheep. As both the Tribes painted white and black sheep on their banners, they therefore, came to know by these two different names.

2. His name was Taymur, a Turkish word, the meaning of which is iron. But, now wrongly pronounced as Timur. Also pronounced as "Tamor". Given in the following verse :
"Sultan Tamor, Anke Charkh ra dil khun kard
waz khoun-i-a'dou ruyi zamin gulgun kard.

   Dr. Ibrahim Qaisari, "Barkhi Fawaid-i Lughavi, The Journal (*"Ashna"*, Vol. XXVII, 1376 A.H. p.76. Col.II.line 24).

3. Abdul Razzaq Samarqandi (Vol. II, Muhammad Shafi', Gilani printing press, Lahore, 1949. p.102) has described the genealogy of Timur in the following manner: Amir Timur Kourkan S/o Amir Tarqay Nouyan S/o Amir Tawakol Nuyan S/o Amir Elangir Nuyan S/o Amir Ijl Nuyan S/o Amir Qarajar Nuyan S/o Amir Suqan Sanjan S/o Amir Ird Moji Nouyan S/o Amir Qajoulay Nuyan S/o Tumnay Khan S/o BaySanqar Khan S/o QaiduKhan S/o Dutu manan Khan S/o Buqa Khan. Khand Mir, *Habib us Seyar* (Vol. III, p.393) further adds: Buqa Khan S/o Buzanjir Qaan son of Alanqu, and opines that Alanqu belonged to Qyan clan, and traces his genealogy upto Japheth son of Nuh, (Noah, the prophet). He has mentioned that the name of Timur's mother was Makina Khatun.

4. Abdul Razzaq Samarqandi, ibid. has called Shahr-e-Sabz or Qubbat-i-Khazra and Khand Mir in the Same book (page 393) Raqabat-ul-Khazra (The Green City).

5. Samarqandi, Ibid, p.102.

with his relatives. He also learnt[1] hunting, horse riding and archery the crafts considered requisite for the warlike nomadic tribes at that time.

Condition of Transoxiana when Timur came to power[2]:

Transoxiana and the other regions which had been held by the Qarakhatais, had been bestowed upon his second son, Chaghtay and his descendant, during the life-time of Chingiz Khan.[3] In the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. the whole region, which was under the domain of Chaghtay got divided into the eastern and the western empires. Both of them, to a great extent, existed independently and each part of it was governed by different branches of his family.

The western empire which formed half of the domain of Chaghtay, had been in the past the seat of Islamic learning, with Samarqand and Bukhara as most important centres. No doubt that the rulers of both the cities were either

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1. Khand Mir, Ibid. See also ***Ajaebul Maqdour Fi Akhbar-i-Timur***, by Ibn ArabShah, translated into Persian by Mohd. Ali Nejati under the title. ***Zendegi-i-Shegeft angiz-i-Timur***, Teharn, Bungah-i-Tarjuma Wa Nashr-i-Kitab (B.T.N.K.), 1335, pp.4-12.

2. The region called Transoxiana is situated in the North of Oxus, lying between Amudarya (oxus) and Seyardarya Jaxartes. Bukhara, Samarqand, Khujand, Ashrusna and Tarmeh are its main cities. This region has been the biggest centre of Islamic culture. It produced many great Persian scholars, most of them are now buried in its soil since the rise of Ghaznavids (366-582/976-1186) upto the down fall of Qajarids (1197-1344/1792-1925).

   Chaghtay (d. 639 or 640 A.H./1241 or 1242 A.D.) was a prominent prince. He was the second son of Chingiz Khan. In the life time of his father, he was the chief of a unit of Mughal army and the supervisor of Panel court. Chingiz Khan had granted him the regions of Transoxiana, Kashghar, Balkh and Ghaznin. After the death of his father he was regarded as the eldest surviving son of him. He and his successors ruled over the regions of Kashghar and Turkhan. Each of his successors, was entitled Khan and his domain was called "Khanat". (the dominion of a Khan), which vanished in 978 A.H./1570 A.D.

3. ***Guzida-i-Tarikhi-Jahangusha-i-Juwaini***, edited by Dr. Ja'far Shea'r, Buyad publication, Tehran 1370 A.H. (1991 A.D.), p.63.

Chaghtay descendants or some clans of Turk tribes, but most of the inhabitants of these two cities were Muslims. The rest, the Eastern region, was Mongolia. Though, Islam had penetrated there, but as it had not absorbed the peculiarities of the Western part, the Khan, the Chaghtay descendant, still ruled there, contrary to the customs that were practised in Transoxiana, because most of the people of that part maintained Mongolian culture. It was because of this that power in Transoxiana was shared by several chieftains and sometimes was held by one of the chiefs, who subdued all of them and established his supermacy, as was done by Amir Qazqhan, who ruled for about ten years, and was ultimately assasinated in the 760 A.H/1359 AD. He figured as a successful ruler in Transoxiana, which enjoyed peace, prosperity and comfort during his reign. When the power passed on to other nobles, the conditions worsened. The noble who assumed power picked up any member of the Chaghtay family and recognised him as ruler and conferred upon him the title of Khan.

In such circumstances, an ambitious chief in Transoxiana was bound to rally round him a body of such persons who could lend him support in his persuit for power and the Chieftainship of his own tribe and accept him as their chief on the basis of his personal merits[1] and attributes. So was the custom of the time. A chief supported by his own tribe also received the support of other tribes. The tribal supermacy thus established in the region, did easily attract the other smaller tribes and groups.[2] They survived the great victories of the

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1. Samarqandi, Ibid, p.211, accounts of the year 746 A.H., When Amir Qaraghan got his domination over these, see also Khand Mir, Ibid, p.92.

2. Khand Mir, Ibid, p.399.

Mughal rulers and had lost their power and had become quite weak with the passing of time. They also made peace with the powerful Chieftain and this practice of making peace with small and weaker tribes was considered a great success on the part of the powerful Chieftain as Timur admits in *Tuzukat-i-Timuri* and Says:

> "... I had not yet rested from my devotions, when a number of people were passing along in a line along the hill. I mounted my horse, and followed them so that I might know their condition, and identify them. They were in all seventy horseman. 'Warriors, who are you'? I asked them. 'We are the servants of Amir Timur. They replied, 'and we are looking for him and we find him "not". I am also one of the servants of Amir, how say? May I be your guide, and escort you to him. And so one of them sped his horse and communicated the news to the leader and said: "We have found a guide who can lead us to Amir Timur". And the leaders drew back the reins of their horses, and gave orders that I should be presented to them. There were three troops. The leader of the first troop was Tughlaq Khwaja Birlas Khan and the leader of the second troop was Amir Saif uddin, and the leader of the third troop was Tubuk Bahadur. When their eyes fell upon me they were overwhelmed with joy, and they alighted from their horses, they came, kneeled and kissed my stirrup. And I also came down from my horse, and embraced each one of them."[1]

After the assassination of Amir Qazghan, his son Amir Abdullah ascended the throne. But, like his father, he, too, failed to control the political situation

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1. ***Tuzukat-i-Timuri*** by Abu Talib Husaini Turbati. Second edition, Asadi (publisher), Tehran 1342 A.H. (1963 A.D.), p.52.

and, some year later, was put to death by Amir Haji Birlas, one of the descendants of Qarajar Nuyan and Amir Bayan Sulduz.[1] At that time the whole of Transoxiana and all the territories appurtenant to it were passing through serious chaotic conditions. In every nook and corner, there were rebellions, and nobles, hostile and disobedient, raised their heads;[2] When the news of these rebellions reached Kashghar, which was then ruled by another branch of the Khans of Ulus tribe, Tughlaq Timur, the ruler of that region and one of the descendants of Buraq Khan, invaded Transoxiana in the year 762 A.H/ 1360 A.D. At that time Timur was in the service of Amir Haji Burlas. But, as he could not resist the attack of Tughlag Timur, he escaped towards Khurasan. Amir Timur also accompanied him for a short while. But, after some time he left him in the lurch and joined Tughlaq Timur. Tughlaq, the Khan (i.e. the ruler) conferred on Timur the city of Kash which the Burlas nobles had gained in heritage. Having been forced by circumstances, Tughlaq Timur returned to Kashghar and appointed Timur as the ruler of that region. There conditions paved the way for Timur to become an independent ruler and establish his position on a more solid ground in Transoxiana than had been possible earlier.[3]

In these days, Amir Husain Qazghani, after the murder of his uncle, Amir Abdullah, by Amir Bayan Sulduz, was afire and wanted to take revenge for his uncle's murder. He defeated Amir Bayan Sulduz, with the help of some influential nobles of Transoxiana, and put him to flight towards Badakhshan.

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1. Samarqandi, Ibid, p.308.
2. Khand Mir, Ibid. p.398.
3. Samarqandi, Ibid. p.309.

The nobles, who had helped him defeat Amir Bayan Sulduz, brought him in power in Transoxiana and every one of them started to rule the region to which he was appointed. Timur was also one of them, he was appointed to the city of Kash, which had been the seat of power of his ancestors.[1]

In the meantime, Amir Husain who had given away his sister in marriage to Timur and acknowledged him as a distinguished member of his family, conferred upon him the title "Kurkan" (son-in-law). Since then Timur was identified with this title and was known as Timur Kurkan (corrupted as Gurkan). Some of the historians differ on this point and are of the opinion, that as Timur had married the daughter of Tughlaq Timur, the title "Kurkan" was suffixed to his name after that marriage.[2]

As the situation in Transoxiana was volatile and not peaceful and the nobles were constantly at war against each other, Tughlaq Timur made another attack on that region in the year 763 A.H. (1361 A.D). He killed Amir Bayan Sulduz and forced Amir Husain to escape. The charge of Transoxiana was handed over to the son of Ilyaskhwaja,[3] while, Timur , remained as before, the ruler of Kash.[4]

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1. Samarqandi. Ibid. p.310, ***Tarikh-i-Iran*** by Hasan Pirneya and Abbas Iqbal Ashtiani, Sixth edition, printed by Chapkhana-i-Arman, Tehran (Iran), 1370 A.H. (1991 A.D.) p.624, also Khand Mir Ibid, pp. 399-400.

2. Ibn-i-Arabshah: Ibid, *Ajaebul Maqdour fi Akhbar-i-Timur,* p.8.

3. Samarqandi, *Matla'-i-sa'dain,* Vol. I, pp. 314-316.

4. Khand mir, Ibid p.401, Abbas Iqbal, *Tarikh-i-Mufassal-i-Iran* (detailed history of Iran), edited Mohd. Dabir Siyaqi, Khayyam publication House, Tehran, pp.624 and on wards.

Amir Timur Kurkan, sensing the inclination of the nobles attached to Ilyas Khwaja together with his own resolve to capture Transoxiana, made a secret treaty with Amir Husain, and attacked Khwarazm. But, as he was defeated, he fled to Khurasan with Amir Husain. Ultimately he was arrested by Turkamans of Abivard and returned to Samrqand, where he remained in exile; and went again to Khurasan with Amir Husain and both of them joined the service of Malik Moizuddin Husain Kurt.[1]

When Tughlaq Timur asked Malik Moizzuddin to send back the two nobles who had sought refuge, Timur and Amir Husain escaped to Qandhar and from there they went to Sistan, where they were attacked by the ruler of that country on some pretext and as a result of it Timur was wounded.[2]

In that attack, an arrow struck his foot so badly that his leg could not ever work normally and on account of this he remained lame for the rest of his life and got to be known with the nick name *Timur-i-lang* or Tamerlane,[3] by which title he is known in the west.

When the wound inflicted on his foot healed up Timur, with the help of Amir Husain Qazghani and other associates, gathered some soldiers and took the regions of Dargaz, Tirmiz, Balkh, Badakhshan and Kash from the agents of Ilyas khwaja. In those days, when they received the news of the death of Tughlaq Timur and the determination of Ilays Khwajah to return to Kashghar they felt

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1. Samarqandi, Ibid, Vol.I, pp.317-319.

2. Khand Mir, Ibid p.401.

3. Timur, called lang (the limping) and generally known in the west as "Tamerlane", see: E.G. browne, *the literary History of Persia* (1266-1502 A.D.) in four volumes, Vol.III, Reprinted at the university press, Cambridge, 19751, p.159.

emboldened and attacked Ilays Khwaja, defeated him and established their supremacy over Transoxiana. Though, Ilays Khwaja took revenge in 765. A.H/ 1363 A.D., from Timur and Husain Qazghani and defeated them in battle, both these nobles took possession of Transoxiana in the year 766 A.H/ 1364 A.D. and brought to an end, for all times to come the rule of Chaghtay Turks in that region. No doubt, Amir Husain was the main associate of Timur and helped him at every stage, but Timur was not fully satisfied with him and doubted his friendly gestures and fidelity. Consequently, differences developed between the two, and, as luck would have it, Amir Husain's sister was married to Timur also died in the meantime.

THREE YEARS CAMPAIGN (788-790 A.H./ 1386-1388 A.D)

The Three Years Campaign, as the contemporary historians characterise it, refer to the repeated onslaughts of Timur on Persia. This continued, without any respite and repose, for three years.

These were the main reasons, which incited Timur to attack Persia repeatedly. As, this time his war campaign continued for three years, therefore, the contemporary historians have called it "Three year war campaign". This time, the main cause of his attack was the choatic condition in the country and politico-religious movements of the people against the oppressive ruling class. Subsequently, the movement of Sarbidaran, started by Sheikh Hasan Jouri at Sabzevar district of Khurasan, spread all over of this province. From there, it reached the regions of Astarabad and Mazandaran. The man who was working behind all these movements (functioning at regional level and kept united all

behind all these movements (functioning at regional level and kept united all their leaders) was Saiyid Izzuddin Sughandi, the successor of Sheikh Hasan Jouri. At that time the ruler of Mazandaran was Afrasiyab Chalavi, who was arrested and later killed during the movement, functioning under the leadership of Saiyid Qawwamuddin, who had collected a large number of disciples there. After that, he was appointed ruler of that province, who laid the foundation of Sadat-i-Alavi-i-Qawwamia dynasty. He died in 781 AH (1379 A.D.). His eldest son, Saiyid Kamaluddin was appointed his successor, who attacked Amir Vali, the ruler of Astarabad and Gurgan provinces and defeated him in 782 A.H. (1380 A.D) who escaped towards Khurasan. When Timur launched his second war campaign to ransack Khurasan, the son of Afrasiyab Chalavi invited him to capture Mazandaran, so that he could take revenge of the murder of his father. As, Timur was not happy with Amir Vali too, therefore he marched from Transoxiana to Khurasan to over throw Amir Vali and the Sadat-i-Alavi-i Qawwami dynasty.[1]

When Amir Timur Kurkan, sacked Gurgan province, its ruler Amir vali fled to Azarbayjan and entered the service of Sultan Ahmad Jalayer. After some time, he went as the emissary of Sultan Ahmad Jalayer, to Adil Aqa, the ruler of Sultania, and proposed to join hands with the Sultan, so that with his help, he could attack Khurasan. Though he could not succeed in his mission and failed to persuade Adil Aqa; he returned to Tabriz. He was however, appointed ruler of that country by Sultan Jalayer. At the same time Tuqtamish Khan attacked

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1. Khandmir, Ibid p. 437.

Tabriz, another reason for Timur to sack Persia. Further the chaotic conditions and anarchy that prevailed there provided Timur with favourable circumstances to sack that region. Tugtamish Khan, who was appointed ruler of Dasht-i-Qabchaq,[1] attacked Tabriz from the side of Darband and captured that city and removed Amir vali from his government. He plundered the whole city and took back Dasht-e-Qabchaq. At this time, Sultan Ahmad Jalayer was in Baghdad. When the news of these events reached Timur, he thought it to be a happy omen and prepared to march towards Persia.

Timur, crossed the Oxus river in the year 788 A.H/1386 A.D. and for three years continuously ransacked and attacked different parts of that region. He made Malik Moizzuddin Lur 750-804 A.H./1349-140 A.D, the ruler of the country of Luristan his first target. After plundering Burujerd and Khurramabad, he threw down his opponents from lofty walls, and proceeded towards Tabriz. There, Sultan Ahmad Jalayer was ready with his army to pick up the gauntlet, but as Timur drew nearer, he fled towards Nakhjavan where he took refuge and thus saved his life.

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1. Qabchaq or Qapchaq has come many times in Persian and Arabic litrature produced from 11th to 15th centuries A.D. This is applied to that desert which extended from the lower SyrDarya (Jaxartes) and BalKhash lakes to the mouth of river Danube. In Europe this word is applied to the region which was occupied by the people of Qabchaq tribes. As the boundries of the area which were under the control of these people varied from time to time therefore, this name also covered those regions which were annexed to it. There are several Turk tribes, originating from Kimak clans. Their early homelands were Northern Caspian littorals and Black Sea. After Mongol invasion they were driven towards Western regions. This name, before that invasion was applied to the region situated in the North - East of Aral river. Later it was used for those deserts which extended from Aral river and Caspian sea, in the East and West to Amba river, in the North to Qizil Qum plain. At present this is part of Turkamanistan Republic.

Timur spent the summer at Tabriz[1] and after crossing the Aras river in the autumn, reached Nakhjavan. First he captured the string fort called Qaris and then started to plunder the country of Georgia. After having captured the city of Tiflis, he enjoyed hunting for a few days. Describing this hunting spree the compiler of *Zafarnama* has written that Timur hunted game in such a huge number that his soldiers could not carry all of them and therefore left a large number of them there.[2]

In the spring of the year 789 A.H./1387 A.D. Timur again set out on his campaign towards Asia Minor. There, after having subdued Bayazid, Arzanatulrum and Arzanjan, he gave order to his son Miranshah to chase Qaraquyunlu, the chieftain of Turkman tribe, which had settled in the suburbs of the cities of Van and Bayazid. Qara Muhammad fled. After having besieged the city of Van for 27 days, Timur captured it and returned to Azarbayjan.

At the initial stages of his three years' campaign Timur, in compliance with the will of Shah Shuja who had requested Timur to look after his children, wrote a letter to Zain-ul-Abidin Muzaffari, son of and successor to Shah Shuja, and asked him to attend his court. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin paid no heed to it, nor did he allow his envoy to go back.

This behaviour of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin Muzaffari enraged Timur. He marched towards Isfahan and Hamadan and Golpayegan. The clergy of Isfahan requested Timur for mercy and promised him to offer some valuable presents.

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1. In summer, Timur was at Tabriz, from where he sent all the chosen artisans to Samarqand. Khand Mir, Ibid, p.457.

2. Sharafuddin AliYazdi, *Zafarnama* (in two volums) edited by Muhammad Lui Abbasi, published by Amir Kabir, Tehran, Ist edition in 1336 A.H./1957 A.D., Vol. II, p.404.

Timur accepted their proposal and sent some of his nobles to collect the gifts they had promised him. The clergy unleashed oppression on common people in exacting money meant for payment to Timur. The people did not care for the clergy's promise and revolted against this imposition of the clergymen. They killed appointees of Timur in the worst manner and created great chaos in Isfahan. Timur, at the fall of the day attacked Isfahan and fought against the common people of that city till the next day. Seventy thousand people were killed by his order. He got the heads counted and piled them up so as to look like a minaret.[1]

After the destruction of Isfahan, which was one of the most tragic and heart-rending events of history, Timur proceeded towards Shiraz. Zainul Abidin Muzaffari fled towards Shustar fearing revenge by Timur and sought refuge with his cousin, Shah Mansur. But, Shah Mansur, in spite of his blood relation, made him captive. Timur, entered Shiraz at the end of the year 789 A.H./1387 A.D. without any resistance. All the princes and nobles of Muzaffari family, the Atabaks of Luristan and almost all the nobles of junior rank attended the court of Timur and surrendered to him. But, in the meantime, when all the things were going in favour of Timur, a messenger who had travelled seven days and nights all of a sudden materialised from Samarqand. He brought the news that Tuqtamish had again revolted against Timur and that his presence for the defence of that region was most urgently needed. This eventuality prompted Timur to divide immediately the countries which were under the domain of

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1. *Yazdi, Zafarnama,* Vol.I, P. 434.

Muzaffarid rule among Shah Yahya, Sultan Mahmud, Sultan Imaduddin and Abu Ishaq and appointed them respectively the ruler of Shiraz, Isfahan, Kirman and Sirjan. After having done this, he hastened to Samarqand.[1] Among all the spoils of war, he took with him Mir Saiyid Sharifuddin Ali of Jurjan.[2] During the year 791 A.H./1389 A.D. as, Timur was engaged in conflict with Tuqtamish Khan, the Mongol and the principalities of Khwarazm and Khiv. In this span of time Iran remained safe from his predatory activities and was left in peace. But in the meantime, the political movement that had been started by the class called Sarbedaran (the persons who were ready to be hanged) got momentum and members of this group rebelled against Timur after receiving the news, that in the end proved a rumour spread by Tuqtamish Khan, that Timur had been killed in the war. The people of Khurasan took this rumour as a good news, particularly members of the group of Sarbedaran. But Miranshah, son of Timur, suppressed the rebellion in the most oppressive manner, particularly at Tus, where he killed several thousands of people and set their skulls in towers and pyramids.

Timur on his return to Samarqand in the year 790 A.H./1388 A.D. had to face double attack, instigated against him by Qamarud Din Dughlat from the side of Farghana on the one hand and Tuqtumish Khan from Bukhara on the other.

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1. Khand Mir Ibid. pp. 440-441.

2. Mir Saiyid Sharifuddin Ali Jurjani was the most renowned theologian and great scholar of Islamic Scriptures of 8th and early 9th century of the Islamic era. He wrote several books in Arabic and Persian on different Islamic Sciences. He was born in 740 A.H./1339 A.D. at Taqu town in the district of Astarabad. He lived for some time at the court of Shah Shuja and then Timur made him come to Samarqand, to feel pride in that his court consisted of such highly learned scholars and other personalities that he had assembled at his court. There he died in 816 A.H./1413 A.D.

At this time, the inhabitants of Khwarazm too revolted against Timur. Qamar Uddin was defeated by Umar Sheikh, son of Timur and Toqtamish Khan fled towards Qabchag plains out of Timur's fear. Timur now proceeded to Khwarazm[1] and plundered that city so mercilessly that "there remained no wall so high in the shadow of which one could take rest. In the whole ruined region, he ordered the cultivation of barley,[2] an order that he kept issuing continuously till 793 A.H./1390 A.D., when Timur permitted to rebuild that city. At that time, not a single living being was visible there". In the year 790 A.H./1388 A.D. Tugtumish Khan, who was granted the government of Tarasoxiana in 771 A.H./1369 A.D. died. Timur, apparently, taking into consideration the rights and services of Chaghtay clan, placed, Siurghatmish Khan's son, Mahmud Khan, on the seat of his father.

In the winter of the year 791 A.H./1388 A.D. Tugtamush Khan again attacked Transoxiana, but was defeated by Umar Sheikh. Timur blocked the roads leading to Mongolia and Qabchag plains and chased him out and returned to Samarqand after plundering those regions. After making full preparations for the capture of Qabchag plain, he attacked that region in the middle of the month of Safar 793 A.H./1391 A.D. and on 15th of the month of Rajab, the same year, he inflicted a crushing defeat on Tuqtamish Khan at Ethel (Volga) and came back to Samarqand. At this time he also carried with him, to Saragand, the war spoils in abundance,[3]

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1. Ibn Arabshah, Ibid, p.23, Khand Mir, Ibid, pp.443-444 *Zafarnama* by Nizam-uddin-Shami, edited by Panahi Semnani, published by Ashna, photocopy of Filex Tower, Tehran 1363 A.H./1984 A.D., pp.66-68.

2. Introduction of *Zafarnama* by Shami, p.16.

3. For further details, See: Khand Mir, Ibid, pp.442-453.

Five years long campaign of Timur (794-798 A.H./1391-1395 A.D.).

Amir Timur Kurkan, after his return from Qabchag plain, granted the government of Khurasan to his son Miranshah and handed over the provinces of Ghaznin and Kabul to his grandson Pir Muhammad. After having recovered from the severe illness from which he had suffered, he proceeded towards Iran, on Saturday, 6th of the month of Ramazan 794 A.H./1391 A.D. to suppress the revolts there and continued this campaign for five years. For this reason, this campaign has been called, by historians "five years campaign".[1]

Timur at first attacked Gorgan and Mazandaran. He subdued Saiyid Qawwam Uddin Qawwami, governor of both the provinces. After spending winter season at Mazandaran, he proceeded, in the month of Safar 795 A.H./1392 A.D., towards Shushtar, via Ray, Sultania and Kuhrud (Sultanabad, Iraq-i-Ajam). Shah Mansur Muzaffari who was ruling independently, over that area fled towards Shiraz. Timur, while chasing him, marched towards Shiraz and captured him near that city and killed him there.[2] After overthrowing Muzaffarid dynasty he granted the government of Fars province to his son, Umar Sheikh and himself went towards Isfahan. After staying there for a short while, he proceeded towards Azarbayjan and Iraq-i-Arab[3] to subdue Sultan

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1. Sharaf Uddin Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnama* , Vol.1, P. 561, also Khand Mir, Ibid, pp. 453.

2. Sharaf Uddin yazdi has written, that after a general massacre of the people of Muzaffrid dynasty, he transferred all the artisans of the Countries of Persia and Iraq to Samarkand. Ibid, p. 619.

3. The term Iraq-i-Ar'ab' applied to Baghdad its Sounounding area. This region from 914 A.H./1508 upto 941 A.H./1534 A.D. was under the domination of Safavids See: *Nizam-i-Ayalat dar daulat-i-safaviya* (Provinces during Safavid period) by Rohrborn, translated by Key Kaous Jahandari, Published by Bungah-i-Tarjuma O Nashr-i-Kitab, (B.T.N.K.) Tehran, 1357 A.H./1978 A.D. p.12.

Ahmad Jalayer, and Qara Muhammad Qaraquyunlu. He subdued Qara Muhammad and repulsed severely the people of Agquyunlu clan. In the month of Shawwal 795 A.H./1392 A.D. he marched towards Baghdad. As Sultan Ahmad could not resist him, he vacated Baghdad and fled towards Syria. Timur, on the request of the people of Baghdad went to capture the two forts of Takrit, which had become the hide-out of highwaymen and who menaced and robbed the wayfareres and the the Caravans. Timur also captured both the forts and crushed those who stood in his way and confronted him. There he built a tower of the skulls of those who were killed by him in the battle.[1] Timur after capturing Basra and Wasit, the important cities of Iraq-i-Ajam,[2] marched towards Algeria. In this journey, in the month of Safar 796 A.H./1393 A.D., his son Umar Sheikh, who was going to meet his father, was shot by an arrow[3] and killed by the people of Baghdad, four halts before reaching that city. Timur, for rest of the year 796 A.H./1393 A.D. kept himself engaged in capturing the countries of Armanistan, Gurjistan (Armania) and crushing Turkman tribes. In Winter when he was spending his days at the summer quarters of Iraq-i-Arab, he got news that Tuqtamish Khan had attacked Darband and Arran.[4] Timur in great haste marched towards that city and from there he went to launch an attack on Qabchag plains.

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1. Khand Mir, Ibid, P. 457.

2. Iraq-i-A'jam is geographical term used for the region covering the provinces of Hamadan, Isfahan and Tehran, Rohr born, Ibid, p,10.

3. Khand Mir Ibid, P. 459.

4. Name of an ancient city of Qafqaz, on the bank of Caspian Sea, Alran or Arran is Arabic name of ancient Qafqaz, more or less the region of ancient Albania. In the fourth century of Islamic era its capital was Burdoeh. During the reign of Mongols, the Southern part of Arran was called Qarabagh.

He set out on his journey, to attack the Qabchaq Plain, on the bank of the river Tarak in the month of Rabi us Sani 797 A.H./1394 A.D. in the vicinity of Qafqaz; he again defeated Tuqtamish. After that having crossed the countries of Charkas and Qazzaq he entered the territories of Russia, where he made several wars. He altimately attacked Moscow and kept that city under his control for more than a year.[1]

Invasion on Hindustan, 801 A.H./1398 A.D.

Timur, after his return from the five-year-war campaign, stayed comparatively for a long period at his capital, Samarqand and paid most of his attention to adorn that city and its environs by constructing high buildings and lofty edifices with the help of those artisans whom he had picked up and sent to Samarqand.[2] At the same time he arranged feasts on large scales, and engaged in some other celebrations and festivities. One of them was granting the government of Khurasan and Mazandaran to his son, Shah rukh.[3] Less than a year had passed, when he made up his mind to capture Hindustan by military campaign which he called *"Jihad"*, the holy war.[4]

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1. Nizam-uddin-Shami describes the victory of Moscow as follows:
Amir Sahibqaran (title of Timur - being born under the influence of two auspicious stars in Conjunction with each other) marched towards the city of (the country called) Urus and Mushko (Moscow), ransacked the whole country and plundred it. The soldiers brought countless booty, Ibid, p.161, while Sharaf Uddin Ali of Yazdi is written:" His Majesty Sahib Qiran marched towards Mosco, one of the cities of Rus (Russia). After reaching there, the victorious army rensacked that country from outside and within the city. All its nobles were crushed and murdered. *Zafarnama* Ibid. P. 761.

2. Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, Vol. 2, p. 6.

3. Shami, Ibid, p. 803.

4. *Zafarnama*, Vol. 2, p. 15, also Khandmir Ibid., p. 469.

Timur, in his own design, wanted to abolish idol worship from Hindustan and establish Islamic faith there. In fact, this kind of holy war against infidel, was such pretext which could be conducive to his cause and justified all his plans of plundering and massacre, on one hand and he could pose himself with pride as the champion of holy war and a sincere devotee of his true faith on the other. It was for this reason that in the month of Zilhajja 800 A.H./1397 A.D. he marched towards Kabul. After crushing the Afghan tribes in the vicinity of the mountain called *Koh-i-Sulaiman*, he passed through the Khaibar pass and crossed the Indus river in the early days of 800 A.H./1397 A.D. At that time the provinces of Sindh and Punjab were governed by the Tughlaq ruler Sultan Mahmud II[1] who ruled these provinces from his capital city, which was at that time Delhi.

Timur, after crossing the Indus river, invested the fort of Bhatnair,[2] and captured it after six days on the 27th of the month of Safar and killed about ten thousand inhabitants of that area. After that he proceeded towards Delhi. The armies of Timur and Sultan Mahmud II faced each other in the month of Rabi uslsani 801 A.H./1398 A.D. at Panipat, near Delhi . At this time, too, his stars were in the ascendent. Here, also about ten thousand people were put to sword by the army of Timur. Sultan Mahmud II fled towards Dehli. Timur captured this city on the 10th of the same month. His soldiers remained there less than two weeks and during this time they kept themselves busy in plundering and

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1. The Sultans of Tughlaq dynasty ruled over some part of the Indian sub-continent from 720 to 817 A.H./1325 to 1398 A.D.

2. Khand Mir, Ibid., p. 472.

looting. In the mean time he got the news of some unfavourable events from Persia. This forced him to march back immediately to Persia. He gave the charge of different cities captured from the Tughlaq rulers to his army officers and went to Samarqand via the area called now Afghanistan.[1]

Seven-years campaign of Timur (802-807 A.H./1399-1404 A.D.)

Timur after plundring Dehli returned to Samarqand. There, he was apprised of the chaotic condition of Iran, particularly of the region of Azarbayjan. He also came to know that there his son, Miran Shah was suffering from mental derangement, after falling down from horse.[2] It was also reported to Timur that Miran Shah had resorted to such practices as did not behove a person of such a high dignity. He had also fallen a prey to alcoholic drinks[3] and had started playing ducks and drakes with the imperial revenues and vandalised the state property. He also killed men of high rank without rhyme or reason, plundered many important and historical buildings and removed the tombstone of Rashid Uddin Fazlullah, the celebrated and renowned minister of the Mongols. Not contented with this, he ordered to take out his body from there and bury it in the cemetery of Jews. All these misdeeds and improprieties of Miran Shah proved detrimental to him from religious, social and political points of view and aroused the sentiments of the defeated people of Georgia, Azarbayjan and *Iraq-i-A'jam* with the result that they revolted against him all of a sudden.

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1. For further information See: Khand Mir, Ibid pp. 475-478, also See: *Muntakhabut Tawarikh-i-Muini* of Muin Uddin Natanzi; edited by John Oben, Khayyam Publishing Tehran 1336 A.H. pp. 233 239 and 296.

2. Khand Mir, Ibid., p. 481.

3. Ibid., P. 483.

Amir Timur, after listening to all these reports, got enraged. He immediately, determined to attack Iran and the western regions. After making war preparations, he proceeded in that direction. This campaign, continued for seven years,[1] Therefore it has come to be known by that name. Timur turned immediately towards Azarbayjan. At Ray, his son Shah rukh also joined him with his huge army by reaching there via Mazandaran. In such a circumstance Miran Shah had no option other than bowing to his father, reaching his father's camp, apologising to him for his misdeeds and confessing to have committed those improprieties. Timur punished some of the companions and advisers of Miran Shah and some of them were hanged by his order. Among them, were Maulana Muhammad Kakhaki, the renowned scholar of traditional and theoretical sciences, Ustad Qutb Uddin Nayi, Habib Udin and Abdul Mumin.[2]

Timur spent the winter of the year 802 A.H./1399-1400 A.D. *at Qarabagh,* near the river. Before the arrival of the spring season he attacked Georgia and ransacked that region in order to exact ample vengenance for what had been done by the inhabitants of that country in Azarbayjan. He demolished several churches, some other places of worship and killed its inhabitants in thousands.

In the meantime, the news came from Azarbayjan that Bayazid Khan I, Ottoman Sultan (792-805A.H. 1392-1402) had asked the governor of Arzanjan to pay tribute to him.This persistent demand from the Ottoman Sultan forced the chief of that region, Tahartan to seek refuge with Timur and asked him to

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1. Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnama* Vol. I, P. 206, see also, Khand Mir, Ibid, P. 481.

2. Khand Mir, Ibid, p. 483.

protect the territory of his country. This was a good pretext for Timur to intervene in the affairs of Asia Minor.

Apart from this, Sultan Ahmad and Qara Yusuf, the two enemies of Timur, had sought the protection of *Ildirim* Bayazid. Thier association wiht the Sultan portended the renewal of conflict at any time in the regions of Azarbayjan and *Iraq-i-Arab,* - the western parts of the areas occupied by Timur. Timur wanted these persons to be handed over to him. But Bayazid did not like to part with them as he used them as a live defensive weapon against his enemy. On the other side, the members of the families of the local rulers of Asia Minor, who had taken refuge with Timur for fear of Bayazid, instigated him to fight against the Turkish Sultan. But, in spite of that, Timur was reluctant to start hostilities against his rival, in view of the great conquests of the Turkish Sultan, whose territories in Europe, touched the boundaries of Greece and Bulgaria and in Asia Minor from Istambul (Constantinople) upto Siwas and Arzanjan. Besides, Timur did not want to show that he had any dispute with the Muslim Sultan who was busy in holy war against the Christians of Europe. He, therefore, wanted to take recourse to his usual designs (i.e. the trick and ruse) and make him as his mere puppet. With these objects in view, he wrote a letter to the Ottoman Sultan and asked him to hand over Sultan Ahmad and Qara Yusuf. But, he refused to accept his request and sent him a reply couched in very strong terms.[1]

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1. The reply of Timur's letter was given in Arabic, which has been included by Abdul Husain Nawayi in his compilation *Asnand-o-Mukatibat-i-Tarikhi-i-Iran* (Historicala documents and letters of Iran. Pub. Chapkhana-i-Sherkat-i-intesharati, Ilmi-o-Farhangi (Scientific and cultural publishing printing press Co.) 3rd edition, 1370 A.D./1991 A.D., pp.92-94.

Having despaired of any fruitful response to his correspondence, he attacked Asia Minor, besieged *Siwas,* one of the cities of Rum, and captured it. He also killed Artughrul, son of Bayazid and buried alive four thousand Armenians and Christians who were protecting the city. But, he pardoned Muslim defenders to justify to them the step he had resorted to, though they characterised it as a heinous and shameful act.

After getting victory over Siwas, Timur also captured Malitayyah and some parts of Southern coast of the Black Sea. He handed over these parts and its surrounding areas to Qara Usman Bayandari, ancestor of the Aqquyunlu tribe of Turkmans.

Capture of Aleppo and Damascus:

During his five-years campaign, Timur stayed for one year-795 A.H./1392 A.D. in Iran and it was in this year that he sent his envoy to Al Malik Alzahir Barquq, the Sultan of Egypt and expressed to him his feelings of friendship. Malik Alzahir killed the envoy of Timur and made one of the Kotwals captive. The Kotwal[1] had kept guard on one of the forts of Armenia. Qara Yusuf, son of Qara Muhammad Turkman, brought him to Egypt and threw him in prison. Amir Timur, after the victory over Matatiah city, sent his envoys to Al- Malik Al Nasir Faraj (801-808 A.H./1398-1405 A.D.) son and successor to Al Malik Zahir and asked him for the release of the imprisoned Kotwal. Malik, Nasir, like his father paid no heed to the demand of Timur. He also put into prison his envoys. When the news reached Timur, he got so furions that he

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1. This is Hindi word, and is correct pronounciation is Kotpal.

began to give a more serious thought to attack Egypt and Syria than chasing the Ottoman Sultan. With this end in view, he proceeded from Algeria to Aleppo. On the 9th of the month of Rabiul Awwal, 803 A.H./1400 A.D., he reached the fortification wall of that city, and opened its gates as victorious commander on 11th of the same month and after making plunder and staying there for 15 days returned via Damascus.

In the year 803 A.H./1400 A.D., after gaining victory over Intab and Aleppo Timur reached the coast of Palestine. The cities of Hema, Hims and Balabak were also subdued. From there he marched towards Damascus. He perfectly brought this city under his sceptre in the year 803 A.H./1400 A.D. This is worth mentioning here that when Timur captured this city he called at Ibn-i-Khaldun the world renowned historion philosopher and Sociologist of his age. It was lucky on the part of Timur that he recorded this meeting in his celeberated work, which is now a very interesting and valuable source of information for the historian. It is appreciable on the part of Ibn-i-Khaldun that, though he was impressed by the achievement of Timur, yet the gave very balanced opinion about him and did not exaggerate to praise him like the court historian of Timur. From there Timur proceeded towards Baghdad, which was at that time the capital seat of Sultan Ahmad Jalyer.

The killing of some of the army-chiefs of Timur by the forces that defended Baqhdad provided ample reason to ransack this city. Timur, in order to wreak vengeance of the murder of his army officers ordered a general

massacre,[1] and returned to Tabriz. But, at the time when Timur was busy with his war campaign in Syria, Bayazid attacked Azarbayjan, as Siwas had been captured by Timur. He sent his wife and children of Tahartan[2] to Barusa. Timur, again attacked Bayazid. In the meantime, Sheikh Ali, nephew (son of Tahartan's sister) came to Timur and told him that Bayazid was repenting his conduct and had decided to send back the wife and the children to him. But, as, on one hand, Sultan Ahmad Jalayer had reached Baghdad and, on the other the presence of Qara Yusuf was a constant threat to the western boundaries of the territories of Timur, he wanted to take a decisive action, particularly in view of the fact that Bayazid had occupied the fort of Kamakh, situated at a distance of seven *Farsakh*[3] from Azarbayjan. Timur, after capturing Kamakh, inspected the march past of his army in the plain of Siwas in the presence of the envoys of Bayazid and again conveyed the message that Bayazid should send the kith and kin of Tahartan along with one of his sons to be kept as hostage. But, no reply was forthcoming to these messages. At last, war took place between the two armies at Ankuria or at Angura (the present Ankara).[4]

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1. About this event Sharaf Uddin Yazdi writes: "The market of Punishment got so much brisky that the broker of mortality purchased the eighty years old man and an eight year old child at the same rate. The furnace of mortality was burning in such a manner that the dress of the existence of a rich man and the belongings of a wretched begger were buring in the same way. *(Zafarnama* Vol.2, p. 367).

2. Timur sent Despina, with full honour, to her husband, Ildarim Bayazid along with her daughter and all her belongings. Though she was non-Muslim yet, with the kind behavious of Timur she was so much impressed that she coverted to Islam, See *Asnad-o-Mokatibat-i-Tarikhi-Az Timur ta Shah Ismail"* by Abdul Husaian Nawaii, p.92.

3. A unit of distance equal to six kilometers.

4. Khand Mir, Ibid, p.508.

The war of Ankuria (19th of the month of Zilhijja 804A.H./1401. A.D.).

In this war Bayazid came with his five sons, namely Sulaiman, Mustafa, Muhammad, Isa and Musa. Timur, was accompanied by his sons and grandsons. The war took place on Friday 19th of the month of Zilhajja 804 A.H./1402A.D., and ended with the defeat of the Turks, and the arrest of Bayazid and his son, Musa.[1]

The defeat of Bayazid was because of the Tartar solidiers, who were in his army and who came from the cities of Aydin, *Sarukhan, Mantisha, Qarman* and *Karmian.* These soldiers fled to join their officers, who were already in the camp of Timur. This proved to be Achilles, heal of the army of Bayazid and resulted in his defeat. The soldiers of Timur after gaining victory over the whole of Asia Minor, trampled it under the feet of their beasts of burden, set on fire Barusa, and captured the ladies and relatives of Sultan Ahmad and Sultan Bayazid. Among the captives was also Elvira, the daughter of the Lalezat. But, Timur sent her back to her husband. At another place, he clearly writes that "Sultan Ildarim Bayazid - the auspicious ghazi and martyr, be blessed by the favour of God Almighty, was imprisoned in an iron cage by Timur and treated him as Caesar had done to Shahpur and his retreat from Transoxiana to Ag, one of the cities of the country of Rus.

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1. Historians, differ in their opinion about the conduct of Timur with Bayazid. Some say, that Timur, at first, had grat regard for him, but, as he tried three times to escape, Timur put him in an iron cage, which seems to be correct with all the doubts that have been shown by European historicans. As Ibn Arab Shah, writes in his book *"Ajaibul Maqdur"* p.130.

Amir Timur, after capturing the cities of Anatolia, proceeded towards Azmir and reached the coast of the Mediterranean sea. There, Al Malik Al Nasir Faraj, Sultan of Egypt, went to see Timur, because the Sultan seemed to be worried by the accounts of the successful advance that Timur had made, he accepted the supremacy of Timur and sent the message that he (Malik Nasir) was ready to mint the coins in the name of Timur.[1] After making this decision, he dispatched his special envoy to the court of Timur, who also accepted this proposal willingly.

Timur, in the wake of this event again attacked Georgia in the month of Rabi ul Awwal ... A.H./Sep. 1403. He reached Rey and in the same year entered Samargand.[2]

Attempt to attack China. (807A.H.... Jamadi ul Awwal 27th Nov. 1404).

After his return to Samarqand, Timur stayed there for a short while, and when he had recovered from the illness he was suffering from he again planned to make new victories and resolved to attack China. He apparently characterised this campaign as a holy war against the infidels[3] and determined to demolish their temples. But, in reality, both his soldiers and himself, had set their eyes on the fabulous wealth of that ancient land and get hold of it. He therefore, planned to attack that country with full preparation. After making arrangements for administaring the affairs of his vast empire and the countries that he had subdued

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1. Khand Mir, Ibid. p.514.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, p.533.

in his absence, he marched on Jamadi ul Awwal 807A.H/27 Nov. 1404A.D. He proceeded from Samargand towards the East. That year, the winter season was extra ordinarily cold and his army suffered a lot from the chill. On Shaban /14th Jan. 1405A.D. he crossed the river Jaxarets, while it was fully covered with ice, and made his halt at the city called Otrar.

Otrar was one of the important commercial cities of Transoxiana on the right hand side bank of Syr Darya (Jaxartes), probably the city of Farab was situated there. During the reign of Chingiz Khan, it was one of the cities situated on the North-East frontier of the country of Sultan Muhammad Kharazmshah. In the year 614 AS.H./1217 A.D., Inaljuq, the ruler of Otrar sent a trade commission, consisting of Mongols newly converted to Islam, to establish trade relations with Sultan Muhammad Kharazm Shah. But, they were killed at his signal. After that incident. After the envoy of Chingez Khan came to the court of Sultan Muhammad to raise objection to the murder and demanded the release of Aynaljog, who was in his captivity. At this Sultan Muhammad also killed the envoy. Chingiz Khan, who being enraged attacked Otrar in the month of Rajab 616 A.H. / Sept. 1229 A.D., and captured that city after a short besiege and then his army plundered the whole country.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EMPIRE OF TIMUR

No doubt Timur was a great conqueror and very prudent Commander of the army, but all these qualities apart, he had no equal in cruelty, tyranny and trickery. Here he differs from Chingiz Khan and thus no comparision could be instituted between the two. It is a known fact about Chingiz Khan that, besides managing the administrative affairs of the government and waging war

campaigns, he had also two other qualities, of which Timur was completely devoid. His first quality was the ability to maintain law and order in the countries that he had conquered, the second was that he was much above religious prejudice and kept himself neutral in the religious matters of the subjects of the countries that he conquered. On the contrary, Timur's resolve to attack China, India and Syria was based on religion. He always made discrimination while killing his Muslim and non-Muslim enemies. Though, he pretended to be a champion of Islam, he did not actually abide by the rules and regulations set up by this religion regarding war and making peace. Every thing was fair for him in the battlefield, because the soldiers wanted to win the War by hook or by crook.

Chingiz Khan's non-interference in the religious affairs of subject nations and the maintenance of law and order throughout his territory had been inherited by his successors. These two qualities contributed a lot to the longevity of their reign, even after his death in all those countries he had captured. His successors ruled for more than half a century and maintained law and order there. On the contrary, chaos and anarchy followed the death of Timur; the whole empire got scattered and none of his successors was able to maintain law and order in the conquered territories. It seems that Timur was very much self-centered and was after gaining superiority over all the others. He held every affair in his hand and every thing moved round him. He did not bring up any of his successors to follow straight line of action and also did not train any of them to manage the affairs of the state in the light of their own conscience. He could not even develop a strong central government. He launched many war campaigns and his

army was very successful in all its attempts, but this success was not deep rooted. He had woven the woof and warp of his government in a manner so as to look powerful being at the centre of power whereas he relegated others to oblivion intentinally or by the exigency of circumstances.

The empire of Timur was not as vast as that of Chingiz Khan. Though, Timur had captured some part of the Indian subcontinent and also some territory of Russia, and failed to get hold over China, his empire could not reach the limit of Chingiz Khan's empire.

Timur, like all other conquerors of the past benefitted greatly from the administrative talents of Iranians, who were highly trained and skilled in this field, but it could not get exploited, throughout the whole IlKanid period. No doubt most of the basic administrative and revenue jobs were performed by Iranians, but they were generally kept deprived of using their full power in administrative business. There were some sensitive jobs that Iranians could perform in a better way, but, they were entrusted to Chaghtay nobles despite their incompetence.

This partisan attitude of Timur accounts for the eclipse of the great administrators who rose high during the Mongolian rule over Persia like Rashid Uddin Fazlullah and Nizamul Mulk Tusi during his reign. Persons who were holding the position of ministership or were engaged in other departments of government remained ignomincons because, they were considered merely as private secretaries or rather the Munshis (scribes) of Timur. None of them left any remarkable work behind him, for fear of being deprived of life forthwith at the slightest mistake.

In the same way, persons who held high position and respectability in military service, had been entrusted with little power to look after the affairs of the countries which were captured with their help. Not only that , men of dignity and high rank were regularly transferred from one place to another, so that they might not grow roots there with the help of local nobles and great personalities.

Illiterate as he was, Timur posed as educated on the basis of these qualities and talents with which God had endowed him. He was very much fond of being admired for his achievements in the numerous wars he waged. For this very purpose of self-aggrandizement and self-approbation he invited many historians from Persia and engaged them to write the history of successful exploits and victories that he had made. This, at least, gave a boost to the art of historiography during the Timurid period. Though, he stayed for very short periods at Samarqand, the capital of his empire, he was very much fond of constructing magnificent buildings there. He also did a lot of work for the development of that city. He established great religious schools, constructed mosques and other monuments. He did great service to the city in the cultural sphere. His successors, too, followed in his footsteps and made a lot of contribution to the development of Samarqand.

SUCCESSORS OF TIMUR 807-911 A.H./1404-1505.....A.D).

Amir Timur had the following four sons:

1. Ghayas Uddin Jahangir was the eldest son of Timur, He died in the life time of his father and left behind two sons Muhammad and Pir Muhammad. Muhammad was appointed the successor of Timur, but he

died in the month of Shaban 805A.H./1402A.D. After his death, Pir Muhammed was granted the governments of Ghazna and Hindustan, He was also appointed the successor of Timur. He was killed by of one of his nobles two years after the death of his grandfather,

2. Mui'z Uddin Umar Sheikh, Timur's second son, was granted the government of Fars province. He was also killed in his father's lifetime, in 796A.H./1393 A.D., at a distance of four marches from Baghdad.

3. Jalal Uddin Miranshah, his third son, was the ruler of Azarbayjan, Iraq-i-Arab and Algiers. An accidental fall from horse back caused him some mental set-back. In spite of his mental ailment he ruled over the region granted to him by his father even after the death of Timur and was killed by Qara Yusuf Turkman at the end of the year mentioned above.

4. Mo'in Uddin Shah Rukh, his fourth son, ruled over Khurasan for twenty eight years till the time of the death of Timur.

When Timur died (810 A.H./1407 A.D.), he left thirty six males who claimed to be his grand-sons. They divided the land of all the occupied countries among themselves in order to avoid any dispute with regard to the vast compire Timur had bequeathed to them.[1]

POLITICAL CRISIS AFTER THE DEATH OF TIMUR

We know that Timur had not foreseen the affairs of his empire after his death, He had not permitted any of his successors to prepare himself so as to become the undisputed leader after his death. He had, no doubt, handed over to them the administration of the countries that he had captured, but this devices

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1. for further detail see: Khand mir, Ibid p.541.

too, did not yield any positive result. Even during his life time, his two sons, Miran Shah and Shahrukh, had fought against several grandsons of Timur. His two other sons by and by, encroached upon the estates of their nephews with the result that the whole empire of Timur was torn asunder and reduced to a number of small principalities. One of them was in the West of Iran, which included Iraq-i-Ajam, Algiers, Arran, Georgia and Armenia. The other was in the Eastern part. The realm in the west of Iran was apparently in the hands of Miran Shah and his two sons Abu Bakr and Muhammad Umar. This brought about the downfall of Miran Shah. His weak power of judgement and fickle mindedness together with the revolt of his two sons, who wanted to become his successors climaxed in his ultimate decline. More important than all other reasons was the hostility of Al-i-Jalayer and Turkmans of Qaraquyunlu and Aq quyunlu tribes. These were the tribes whom even Timur had failed to suppress in his lifetime. Consequently, after the death of Timur, these tribes entered the political arena and uprooted the government of his son, Miran shah who was ultimately killed by Qara Yusuf Turkman in the year 810 A. H. A.D. 1407 A.D.

The result of this political crisis was that the Timuris lost their political hold over the western part of Persia. Now, they held their sway only over the eastern part which was also not free from disputes. Despite that, Timur, during the last days of his life, appointed his second son, Pir Muhammad, after the death of his first son, Jahangir. But, after the death of Timur, his grandsons did not approve of this appointment; consequently a civil war for power erupted among them.

In this situation, at that time, Shahrukh, who was officially granted the government of Khurasan, Sistan and Mazandaran by his father, in the year 799 A.H. 1396 A.D., was staying at Herat in his own realm, while, the other Timuri nobles remained at Atrar after his death. Though Pir Muhammad was at that time the ruler of Fars and was appointed the sovereign ruler of the whole realm, yet those nobles who were against him in the year 807 A.H./1404 A.D. recognised Miran Shah's son Mirza Khalil, as their ruler, who was present at the royal camp in Otrar, with the intention that they would continue their war campaign against China, which had been started in the life of their father.[1]

The election of Mirza Khalil incited Pir Muhammad, ruler of Fars, who considered himself the legal heir to his father. He marched towards Transoxiana for the purpose of securing government, but was defeated by the army of Mirza Khalil, in the region called Nasf (Qarshi) and a few months later was killed by his minister in the year 809 A.H./1406 A.D.

Khalil Mirza, too, being quite young and unable to control the state of affairs, could not administer his realm very well. His prodigality emptied the royal exchequer and created a serious financial crisis.[2] After some time, the nobles thought it wise to depose him from the government, and enthroned Shahrukh, the fourth son of Timur.[3]

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1. Ibn Arabshah, Ibid, p.267.

2. Ibn-i-Arabshah, Ibid., pp. from 270-282.

3. Khalil was appointed the ruler of Iraq-i-Ajam. There he ruled till his death which occurred in the year 814 A.H./1411 A.D.

Stability of Shahrukh in the East

Shahrukh was the youngest son of Timur. He shifted his capital from Samarqand to Herat, which had always been of his liking. Samarqand at that time was also included in that territory. In the year 812 A.H./1409 A.D. he appointed his son Ulugh Beg ruler of Samarqand.[1] During this period, the region of Transoxiana became a princely state belonging to the Timuri dynasty.

He ruled for about forty years from 810 to 851 A.H.1407-1447 A.D. As he ruled for a longer period, he got the opportunity to compensate for the ravages and damages of wars that had taken place during the time of Timur and it was thus that he paid his full attention to the development of cultural activities.

He was a sincere follower of Islamic principles and a devout Muslim in true sense. So he regarded Chingiz Khan as a heathen, he abolished the rules and regulations[2] established by him, and introduced Islamic laws and doctrines instead.

Shahrukh had become so much powerful that he acted as an arbitrator for patching up the differences among the nobles of different regions. When, for instance, the power-struggle intensified among Mirza Iskandar, ruler of Hamadan, Mirza Rustam, ruler of Isfahan and Mirza Bayeqra, ruler of Fars all being his cousins, he took action to cool down the situation. In the year 817

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1. Khand Mit, Ibid, p.581.

2. The word Yasa or Yase gives the meanings of rule, regulation and institution. Yasanama or Yasenama was the collection, consisting of Mughal rules and regulations, about administering the country, army, capturing the countries, making the Quryltay (Councils) and giving the punishments. It also dealt with the Code of Conduct and hunting the games. For further detail see: Jafar shea'r, Ibid, pp. 51-52.

A.H./1414 A.D. he took the government of Isfahan from Mirza Iskandar and gave it to the charge of Mirza Rustam. In the same way when Mirza Bayeqra, at Shiraz grew hostile and disobeyed Shahrukh, he removed him from his government and gave it to the charge of his son Ibrahim Sultan.[1]

Shahrukh, was basically a peace-loving person. The circumstances in which he lived and as far as the political situation permitted he loved peace and tranquillity. Having mastered the whole of the Timuri heritage, he also partly gained success over Western Iran. During the years from 823 to 838 A.H./ 1420 to 1434 A.D., he attempted thrice to attack that region. He made the first attempt in the year 823 A.H.1420 A.D., but before the war took place,Qara Yusuf died all of a sudden. His two sons, Iskandar and Jahanshah confronted him, but were defeated. The other two wars took place in 832 and 838 A.H./ 1428 and 1434 A.D., In both of them he was crowned with success. In the third attempt Jahanshah accepted the supremacy of Shahrukh. He was appointed ruler of Azarbayjan by Shahrukh. Eskandar made good his escape.

From the year 838 A.H./1334 A.D. onward, the scions of Qaraquyunlu tribe ruled over Azarbayjan as independent sovereigns on behalf of the Timuri dynasty. On the other side Shahrukh entered into an agreement with Aqqunlu tribe, the main rival of Qaraquyunlu clan and thus Turkman also got subdued.

Seen as a whole, Shahrukh did not rule over all those parts which were captured by Timur and could not keep them in his control, but this undoubtedly goes to his credit that he defended in a more responsible manner than the other successors of Timur.

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1. For further detail see, Khandmir, Ibid., pp. 571-72 and *Zubdat ut Tawarikh* by Hafiz Abru edited by Saiyid Kamal Saiyid Javadi, Ney publication, Tehran, Spring, 1372 A.H./1993 A.D. Vol. I, p. from 1 to 474.

Successors of Shahrukh

Shahrukh died in 850 A.H./1447 A.D. Immediately the same political chaos followed his death throughout the entire domain which had followed the death of Timur.[1] Ulugh Beg was the only son who had survived and considered himself the legitimate heir to his father. He ascended the throne in the winter season of the same year. During his gubernatorial tenure in Transoxiana, he had gained reputation as patron of learning. But, he could not make any mark as a good administrator of affairs of the State. Taking advantage of his slack administration Mongols of the Camp of Shaiban(Uzbeks) attacked Transoxiana and Samarqand from the side of Siberia and Turkistan. They plundered and razed to the ground all the historical monuments.[2] At Balkh too, his son Abdul Latif benifited from this situation and revolted against his father. Ultimately Ulugh Beg was killed in the winter of the year 853 A.H./1449 A.D.[3]

Rule of AbuSaid

Ulugh Beg was killed by his son Abdul Latif. The war of succession, as a result, broke out among Timuri princes Abdullah Mirza and Babur Mirza, the two nephews of Ulugh Beg, were enthroned. Consequently Abdullah (854-55 A.H.1450-51 A.D.) became the ruler of Samarqand and Trasoxiana while Babur (856-61 A.H./1452-57 A.D.) got the regions of Herat and Khurasan.

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1. Samarqandi, *Matla-i-Sadian,* Vol. II, p. 933.

2. Ibid, pp. 958-59.

3. Ibid., p. 971, Hafiz Abru, Ibid, pp.106-129.

AbuSaid the grand son of Miranshah fought against Abdullah and inflicted defeat on him.[1]

Babur died in the year 861 A.H./1457 A.D. in Khorasan. After that AbuSaid captured that region too, with the intention of expanding the Eastern and Southern parts of the regions that he had already occupied.

During the reign of AbuSaid, the Western part, was being ruled by Qaraquyunlu tribe as usual, with Jahanshah as their chief. He, at once took advantage of the absence of AbuSaid and attacked Khurasan.[2] But, just as Abu Said returned from Balkh, the city of Herat too, was set free by him. Now the city of Samnan remained as the line of demarcation between Qaraquyunlu and Timuri. This was one of the most disastrous event in the whole history of Timuri reign. Only for a very short while the capital city remained under the occupation of Jahanshah,[3] the biggest ruler of Qaraquyunlu tribe. Now the Timuri empire, which once comprised the largest area had been merely reduced to a very small chunk during the reign of AbuSaid. His rule was confined only to Transoxiana and Khurasan but in the last days of his rule, the regions in Mazandaran, in the North and Sistan in the South were annexed to his domain.[4]

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1. AbouSaid succeeded in his attempt with the help of Abulkhair (855-6 A.H./1451-2 A.D.) an Uzbak noble (Khan), who ruled over the surrounding areas of Jaxaartes, Uzkand, Sufnaq.

2. Samarqandi, *Matla-i-Sadain*, Vol.2, p. 1108.

3. Ibid., p. 1168.

4. Ibid.

In the year 782 A.H./1380 A.D. when Jahanshah the chief of Qaraquyunlu tribe, was defeated in the battlefield,[1] the western part of Persia also came under the domain of Aqquyunlu tribe. Uzun Hasan was hopeful of the friendship of AbuSaid, but he fell a victim to this fatal temptation, but before Aqquyunlu tribe could get fully established in the region, he tried to restore the Timuri rule. Therefore, Abu Said declared war against him.[2] Actually this war was provoked by Hasan Ali, son of Jahanshah, who had set his eyes on the region of Azarbayjan.

The army of Abu Said, having traversed a very long distance, met the troops of Uzun Hasan on the bank of the Kar river (the North of the Aras river) but as it lacked provisions and could not fortify itself against the intense cold of winter season, he lost the battle and was killed[3] on the 27th of the month of Rajab 874 A.H.11th February 1470 A.D.

The cause of the fall of Abu Said, the last Timurid King, who was ambitions enough to restore the lost glory of his empire, lies, to an utmost extent, in the internal differences among the Timurid nobles and princes. With his fall in the battlefield, the whole of the Western region of Persia was grabbed by the Aqquyunlu tribe. Now, Uzun Hasan became the undisputed ruler of Baghdad, Tabriz, Shiraz, Isfahan, Sultanya, Rey and even of Kirman.

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1. Ibid., p. 1319.

2. For further detail, see Samarqandi, Ibid, under the events of the year 872, p. 1322.

3. Ibid., p. 1346, under the events of the time of Sultan Abu Said.

State and Condition of Timurids before their downfall

The insurmountable difficulty the survivors of Abu Said were confronted with was the internal differences in the way to power. The neighbouring powers took full advantage of these differences. On this occasion, the Chughatay khans of Mongolia connived with their rivals and gained much power in Central Asia. The situation turned from bad to worse, so much so that Yunus khan Chaghta took advantage of these differences and got hold the regions of *Tashkand* and Siram. Umar Sheikh also died in the year 897 A.H./1494 A.D. after ruling for a comparatively long period.

Husain Bayeqara (1470-1506 A.D.)

In the meantime the succession of rule fell to the lot of Husain Bayeqra Abu Sa'id, bin Muhammad bin Miran Shah bin Timur, one of the grand sons of Umar Sheikh, bin Timur, Sultan Husain Bayeqra who was the ruler of Khurasan at that time took advantage of this situation, and occupied the regions of Gorgan and Mazandaran. He made Astarabad his capital in the autumn season of the year 864 A.H./1460 A.D. He ruled over Herat till the time of his death which happened in the year 911 A.H./1506 A.D. He was always wary of the Aqquyunlu tribe, who had reached its zenith in the Western Iran and did not make any military operation against them. He also established cordial relations with Uzun Hasan Khan. He had no hold over his native land, Transoxiana, because, there minor princes of Timuri dynasty were always at daggers drawn with each other. Samarqand was ruled by the dynasty of Abu Sa'id. The Uzbeks also started their attacks at the end of the 10th Century A.H. on Transoxiana. The Timurid empire vanished so quickly from the Eastern part of Islamic world.

that nobody could predict who would sit on the throne from the Timuri dynasty. Finally, in the year 916 A.H./1510 A.D. Shah Ismail, first ruler of Safavid dynasty turned out the Uzbeks from Khurasan. He made the Amu river the Eastern boundary of Iran. The greater part of Timuri realm, which included parts of Iran and present Afghanistan, fell in the hands of the Safavis. It is worth mentioning here that one of the princes of Timuri dynasty, namely, Babur, was driven out from Transoxiana, by Uzbeks. He was not only one of the grand sons of Timur, but from his mother's side, his geneology reached Chingiz. Babar left Transoxiana, fully disheartened, but he could not believe that he would be able to capture Samarqand again. He captured this city, three times in his early life. From there he went to Kabul and then occupied the Northern part of Indian sub-continent. He defeated Ibrahim Lodhi in the battle field of Panipat, Haryana, in the year 932 A.H./1526 A.D. In this way, he was able to establish Mughal empire in the Indian subcontinent.

Social Conditions of Iran during the time of Timur and Timurids

The social conditions of Iran, with the advent of Chingiz Khan Mongol (563-625 A.H/ 1167-1227 A.D) and his constant attacks as well as of his successors, like Hulagu, wrought great havoc in Persia during 7th century of Islamic era, (13th century of Christian era), with the death of Abu Sa'id, the last Mongol ruler and the down fall of Mongol empire with him, till the rise of Timur in the year 771 A.H./1369 A.D), in Transoxiana, the social conditions, in Persia, deteriorated from bad to worse. The main cause of which was the blood shed of influential nobles of Abu Sa'id, in different parts of Persia, for the lust

to gain power. During this period the chaotic conditions reached an extent that Hafiz of Shiraz, the greatest lyric poet of Persia, cried out and complained in a verse, saying that:[1]

> What is this chaos, that I am noticing in this period, under (the shining) moon
>
> I am finding the whole universe full of chaos and confusion.

He whished that the "Turk of Samarqand" (i.e., Timur) might come to bring peace to the earth. As at a place, metaphorically he says:[2]

> *Khiz ta khatir bedan Turk-i-Samarqandi dahim*
>
> *Kaz nasimash bu-i-Juyi Mulyan ayad hami.*

Get up: so that we may give heart-opening welcome to that Turk of Samarqand, whose odour the is constantly bringing from the smell of Mulyan river. But, very soon he realized that, the Turk, whom he wished to come, was himself brutally tyrant and plunderer who had caused massacre on the vast land of Kharazm. He had not only extinguished the fire of tyranny and cruelty but had, enflamed it in such a manner that it spread in a very vast area. At this, being quite disgusted he said:[3]

> *Be Torkan dil Madeh Hafiz, bebin az biwafaiiha*
>
> *ki ba kharazmyan kardand Turkan-i-Samarqandi.*

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1. *Diwan-i-Hafiz-i-Shirazi,* a collection of Hafiz's Poems, Nashriyyat-i-Irfan (Irfan publications), Dushanba (Tajikistan), 1971, p.159.

2. Hafiz Shirazi - *Gozarishi az Nima rah,* edited by Masoud Farzad. Pahlavi university (called university of Shiraz after Islamic Revolution of Iran) publication no. 44 N. of Ghazal 478, p.175.

3. Ibid, p.159-163.

Oh: Hafiz, do not attach yourself to Turks, See them, how disloyal they are, and what these Samarqandi Turks have done with the people of Kharazm.[1]

After-effects of the invasions of Timur and his successors.

Timur, after having retained his hold over Transoxiana, in the year 771 A.H./1369 A.D) started his attacks beyond that region. He made several attacks over Persia and commenced it from Khurasan, which continued from 782 to 785 A.H./1380-1383 A.D. The next attack that he made was called, "Three years campaign" (788-790 A.H./1386-1388 A.D.). His last attack continued for five years, and, therefore, was known as, 'Five years campaign' (794-789 A.H./1391-1395 A.D.). In these attacks, the other cities of Persia, too were ransacked. These attacks caused such a great materialistic and spiritual loss to Persia that it could not repaired and this would be pointed out in this dissertation, wherever required.

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1. Kharazm or Khiva, is the name of the country located in lower part of the river Oxus, in central Asia. It has played an important role in the development of civilization in central Asia. After Islamic invasion, the independent rulers of that region were entitled Kharazm Shah. This region, in the ancient times had two important cities, one of them was called Karna and the other Gorganj (Jurgania), in the vicinity of which were the towns like Zamakhshar, Hazar Asb, and Khiva. After the reign of Timur and during the period of Uzbeks, this city over shadowed Gorganj, and gradully got such name and fame that the whole region of Kharazm was called Khiva. This is one of the most ancient historical region of Asia. It is situated in the Eastern part of present Iran. In its south is Oxus river and in the North the range of Hindu Kosh mountain. Politically, Transoxiana, Sajistan and Qahistan are also considered its parts. After Arab invasion, four cities of it, i.e., Nishabour, Marv, Herat and Balkh were very important and had been in different periods the capitals of this region separately or jointly. The other cities in this region are: Tus, Nisa, Abivard, Sarkhas, Isfazar, Badghis, Juzgan and Bamyan. See Persian encyclopedia under "Khurasan".

1. **Economic crises:**

One of the effect of wars, particularly the imposed ones, is the failure of economic system of the country, which leads to social poverty. The continuous attacks of Timur over Persia and that too so brutal that his contemporary historians have called them unparalleled as Muinuddin Asfazari writes:

> "Such massacre, plundering, tormenting, torturing, captivity destruction of the places and distraction of the people would have hardly taken place anywhere at any time."[1]

This situation, besides general massacre, ruining the cities, plundering the people and making them captive particularly those artisans architects and engineers who could be useful for the redevelopment of the towns and the cities;[2] proved so much destructive that it left economic effects upon the society.

Timur was not only contented with this, but he also appointed his agents in those countries which he had captured, who designed such schemes which were in the interest of his government. One of them was collecting taxes from every individual. Under this scheme, the agents fixed a certain amount per head

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1. *Rauzal ut Jannat fi Ausaf-i-Madinat-i-Herat*, by Moin uddin Muhammad Alzamji Alasfazari, edited by Saiyid Muhammad Kazim Imam, University of Tehran Publication, 1339 A.H./ 1960 A.D., Vol.II, p.44.

2. Khand Mir Ibid, p.395 (who says that: [Timur] made to migrate the engineers and the artisans toward Transoxania).

and received it from every individual.His agents did not restrict only to this, but also put their other schemes too in force, under which:

> "After collecting the particular amount from every individual, nine Dinars were further added on each person. The recovery amount was written and heartless collectors were appointed to receive it. The amount which was their object to recover from the people was beyond the power of the payees. At this, the fire of tyranny and oppression was kindled and there rose the smoke of cruelty.[1]

2. **Collapse of Social peace and security.**

After the invasions of Timur and his successors over different parts of Persia, it was not certain whether the region would be ransacked again or not. This incertainty had caused a sort of fear, restlessness and unstability in the minds of the people. The anxiety and agitation increased further when there rose vast differences among the successors of Timur and several other princes, who had divided themselves in different groups. The instability had reached degree that killing brothers, cousins and some time father,[2] to gain power, had become a common feature of the day. This condition, brought about further chaos and confusion in the society, which resulted in further social distress.

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1. Alasfazari, Ibid, 2. pp. 191 and 198
   See also samarqandi, Ibid, pp.1124-27 in a who has described these events in more detail and very horrible way under the events of the year 861 A.H./1456A.D., at the time when Mirza Baber was staying in his capital seat at Herat.

2. As Abdul Latif killed, Ulugh Beg, his father.

This is a natural phenomenon, when there is peace, stability in a society and justice also prevails in every aspect of life, the executive members would also be bound to observe rules and regulations which would be in a way the security for the people to carry on their business. But, unfortunately that condition did not prevail at that time, as Moinuddin Asfazari mentions under the accounts of the year 861 A.H. 1456 A.D., the events which occurred after the death of Abdul Qasim Babur. He had mentioned, in detail, the social condition of Khurasan, which led to chaos and confusion there.

This is also worth mentioning here, that such events did not remain confined in the boundaries of Khurasan, but in other parts, also occurred as a general phenomen. All the contemporary sources in general and the author of *Matla-i Sa'dain Wa Majma-i Bahrain* has mentioned about such occurrences in the accounts of every year. He writes: "This year, full confusion penetrated in the affairs of Khurasan, in every nook and corner, mischiefmaker and defrauder raised their head and made up their mind for hostility. In every region, a mischievous and seditious person, after revolting determined to remain unsubdued. On account of the absence of a powerful king, who could take measures to repulse the attack of calamities, prohibit adultery of wicked ones, there was in the surrounding area of the country plundering, seizing, chaos and confusion. Every self conceited person rose for a while, every niggardly man imagined himself a chief. The time was changing and the turning away of brothers. That confusion, calamity, sedition and disaster which people had seen during the time of Shah Rukh, multiplied after the death of Babur Mirza."[1]

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1. Alasfazari, Ibid, pp.190-191.

3. **Deterioration of moral values**:

In a society where utter poverty, economic crises, injustice, social insecurity and lack of law and order prevail, ultimately moral degeneration takes place among its people. The social like theft, gambling and prostitution etc. become a common feature. Though they differ only in degree from place to place and from society to society. In such societies, the religion plays an important role, particularly where people follow the rules of the society and observe religious practices too. But, unfortunately, in the society of Timuri period, though the people were apparently claiming to be the follower of their religion and paid much attention to the construction of mosques and holy shrines. But, as the Timuri rulers were not observing religious principles, this also affected the mind of common people. This practice of the rulers, on one hand, created the sense of libertinism among the people, and on the other they became indifferent to the observance of moral principles, which led the whole society towards deterioration. Prodigality and luxurious living of the courtiers and the persons attached to Timuris led them astray.

4. **The extravagance and profligacy of the countries and their associates:**

Timur, who had made great victories in the Islamic world, had also established such a society[1] which very much indulged in drinking, dancing and setting the assemblies of joy and mirth, as we see in the case of his son Baysunqur. Though he was great patron of art and culture and spent much of his

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1. Hafiz Abru, supplement of *Zafarnama*, printed at Parag, re edited by Bahman-i-Karimi, 1937 A.H., p.23.

time in cultural activities, but, in spite of that, he also used alcoholic drinks excessively, which caused his death, in the year 837 A.H./1433 A.D. at the time when he was in the prime of his youth.[1] His son, Mirza Babur, too, died[2] in the year 861 A.H. 1456 A.D. being excessively prodigal and alcoholic. It is not surprising that the corruption and immorality which was prevailing in Mongol society had penetrated in Timuri period and continued throughout. It is generally believed that such conditions were brought about by the Chaghtay clan.[3]

This is also evident from the confession of Timur, who said that this habit had reached him from Ilkhani tribe.[4] Besides Nizam Shami is of the opinion and consideres that Timuri empire was the offshoot of Chingiz Khan, because he considered himself of the dynasty which he had called[5] *"Urugh-i-Mubarak-i-Chingiz Khan"* and had admitted it clearly.

In the same manner, when Maulana Shamsuddin Sheikh Ali, one of the pious men of the time of Shah Rukh son of Timur, went to see Khaqan Sa'id (Shahrukh) and declared that it was unlawful to close the soap factory as it would land the Muslims in trouble, who would be then deprived of their

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1. samarqandi, Ibdi, p.1112.
2. Ibid., p.722.
3. Ibid, p.1152.
4. See: *Asnad-o-Mukatibat-i-Tarikhi-i-Iran*, 2nd letter of Timur to Sultan Bayazid Khan Osmani, (p.99), in which he says: "that I am from the dynasty of Ilkhanis."
5. It is a Turkish word, which gives the meanings of family,

livelihood. In reply to the his majesty (Shahrukh) made some lame excuses. After having listened to him that pious man raised his head towards sky and said, "Oh: God, I have conveyed Thy message, but this Mughal is not ready to pay heed to it.[1]

One of the important effects of the attacks of Timur was that, a number of artisans migrated from Persia, particularly from Khurasan. This migration of the artisan class did not start in the time of Timur, but earlier. After Mongol invasion, people of artisan class had started to flee away from their home lands to take refuge at some peaceful place. Most of them either migrated to the Indian - sub continent or to some other neighbouring country. During that period not only artisans, saints, poets and writers migrated to Hindustan but also great rulers, like Sultan Jalal Uddin, migrated from his native country and took refuge in Indian Sub-Continent with his four thousand armed soldiers.[2]

Migration of the Persians from their homeland towards India, after the out break of Mongol invasion in 657 A.H./1258 A.D. continued for about a century, because this country for them was an ideal place to live in.[3]

The Mongol invasion over Persia was the main reason of the Persians to migrate to Hindustan, and the rulers of India received them warmly. The migration of the Persians took place at the time when the Khilji dynasty (689 A.H. - 720 A.H./ 1290-1320 A.D.) was ruling over this country. Samarqandi is

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1. Samarqandi, Ibid, pp.719-720.

2. Pigou Lou Sakaya, *Tarikh-i-Iran*, a collection of acticles by different writers, translated by Karim Kishawarz, Vol.II, forth edition published at Tehran (Iran) in 1354 A.H. (1957. A.D.) p.329.

3. Yasin, M.A. *Social History of Islamic India*, I ed. New Delhi 1974, p.5.

of the opinion that the oppressions of Timurid caused the people to migrate, as he writes:

> "The fire of oppression and tyranny raged, the smoke of cruelty rose high from houses. People, after passing through the treatment of torture and torment made escape, leaving behind their kith and kin".[1]

CULTURAL CONDITION OF PERSIA DURING THE REIGN OF TIMUR AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The political and social conditions of a society, as a principle, owe greatly to two main factors which cause the rise or fall of a society. Hence these factors cannot be ignored

As it has already been mentioned, Persia during ninth century A.H. (15th century A.D.) was brutally ransacked by Timur and his successors. Their sucessive onslaughts so irrepairably and grievously damaged the society that it could never rise again. But such devastating attacks in their worst condition had been started earlier in eighth century A.H. (14th Century A.D.) by Changiz Khan Mongol and his successors. Later, when Timur continued such plundering raids, he ultimately brought the political, social and economic conditions to a crisis point. In such a chaos which had clouded the horizon of Persia and had almost sealed her fate, no cultural activity could take place but rather they would go towards deterioration.

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1. Samarqandi, Ibid, pp. 1124-1127.

It was not as if the Arabs were unaware of the enrichment of the Islamic world of knowledge and culture by Persia. Ibn-i Khaldun, writing his Introduction to an Arabic text, has rightly mentioned that Islamic knowledge and culture owes much to Persian civilization. In support of his view he further says:[1]

> "This condition lasted as long as education had been a characteristic feature of the cities of Persia and Iraq, Khurasan and Transoxisno served as centres of learning with the ruination of these cities, civilisation, too, got stagnant with the result that the gates of learning closed upon the Persians. Further they got themselves accustomed to the habits of the peole of desert. Now it has shifted to the cities which are more civilized, and became a peculiarity of Egypt and the like countries. But still some vestiges of civilisation are found in Transoxiana under the patronage of a government which has remained there. It is for this reason that education, the advantages of which are undeniable, is still existing there. This has been asserted on the strength of the works of Sa'duddin Taftazani, a learned man, whose works have reached us. With the exception of Imam Ibnul Khatib and Nasir ud Din Tusi, this epithet is applicable to none."

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1. *Introduction by Abdur Rahman bin Khaldun* on, the book, *Alebr Va Diwanul Mubtada-i-wal Khabar Fi Ayyamil Arab-i-Wal Ajam Walbarbar wa man Asarahom Min zavessultanel Akbar,* Al haiat ul Mesriya, Egypt 1975 A.D., p.545

Ata Malik Juwaini, another historian of Mongol period has expressed the same view, in the following words:

> "The seats of learning were deserted, the vestiges of knowledge obliterated, the class of scholars humbled by the hands of chance, men of learning were trampled under the feet of treacherous time and deceitful days. Different kinds of adversities laid them prostrate smitten by discords, slaughtered by the sharp blades of the calamity of dispersions with the dust of deprivation all over them..... under such circumstances, when there is scarcity of generosity and ignorance galore how the intellectuals and religious persons, thus oppressed by hardships, can generously devote themselves to the promotion of knowledge and lift it up to its zenith......"[1]

Continually invaded by the nomadic tribes of Central Asia, a prey to their brutality and persecution, an easy victim to this inhuman behaviiour adjustment to which was an impossibility and any compromise improbable, the people of Persia could not be expeced to maintain lofty ideas and develop a highly refined culture. What Chingiz and his descendants and what Timur and his successors did to them defies description. In a choked atmosphere like this, no scholarship, no erudition, and no culture could thrive and prosper. Artistic accomplishments

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1. *Tarikh-i-Jahangushay* by Alauddin Ata malik Juwaini, edited by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab Qazwini, Leiden edition (Holand) 1319 A.H./1911 A.D., Vol.I, p. 3-5.

and cultural activities require patrons and connoisseurs and there remained none. These are those hard facts, which neither can be denied by any means nor can be simply ignored or given some evidential interpretation. But, in spite of all that, very little has been written about these bitter events by the historians of the period of Timur. The reason of it was simply that he forced the historians, by deception and compulsion to come with him to his capital city, Samarqand, so that they could inscribe his name permanently on the pages of history and find some justification to say that he rightly deserved to be called vicegarent of God Almighty on this earth, because he proved the protector of Islam, great patron of learning and founder of many charitable institutions. Such things, at a cursory look, seem to be very appealing to the mind, but, if we go deep to its roots we would find that in the guise of patronage of Scholars of various schools, he treated them like artisans, craftsmen and skilled workers. He gathered all the Scholars, contrary to their desire from Persia, Azarbayjan and the city of Islam, by plundering these countries and forced them to come to Samarqand, like dexterous artisans.[1] He resorted to all these practices in order to conceal his real image present himself as the great champion of Islam and highly fond of scholarship.

Such regard was also paid by Changiz Khan to Muslim Scholars, though he was believed to be heathen. He showed such great reverence to Muslim men of learning that they considered him, "a source to obtain the favour of Divine will".[2] But, the case of Timur was quite different from him. In spite of that he

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1. Yazdi, *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 193 and also 572.

2. Jafar Shear, *Guzida-i-Jahangushay*, P,53.

was the main cause of all the deterioration in the society of Persia of that period, but he knew that he had to rule over those who were Muslim by faith and among them men of learning, particularly theologians, had great esteem. Having such consideration before him, he was bound to give a significant place to highly learned persons, particularly the clergy class. Therefore, following their advice, he considered it obligatory for himself and also as an important part of religious belief. With this, it should also be kept in mind that this kind of regard that Timur had, did not aim at the propagation of philosophy, mathematics and many other branches of different sciences. His main intention was that, he and also his successors wanted to become the centre of attention of the people by showing their enthusiastic devotion to Islamic faith and the exponents of this religion. The other motive to display their zeal and enthusiasism was not for the expansion of traditional sciences and mathematics, but to use the eminent Scholars as the show pieces to decorate their courts, as Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna did earlier.[1] They felt themselves very proud, seeing that the great men of learning were standing before them by folding their hands or bowed before them with both their fore arms crossed on their breasts. In this way they considered that they had superiority over other Sultans, as they had big scholars at their court. Consequently, we hardly find during this period any eminent Scholar in the field of natural sciences and mathematics. Most of the learned men, rational and traditional, confined themselves to the study of religiious texts which they had memorised fully. They simply produced exhaustive explanatory

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1. *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* by Khwaja Abul Fazl Muhammad bin Husain Baihaqi Dabir, edited by Dr. Khalil Khatib Rahbar, Mahtab publication, 2nd editon, Spring 1371 A.H./1982 A.D., p.181.

notes on these texts or made their abridgement. Only such books were included in the syllabi of religious schools and other institutions along with Arabic as a compulsory language. Such books lacked imagination, original thinking and revolutionary ideas. They could neither enlighten the minds nor provide such food for thought that could change life. They abounded in repetitions, play of words, comindrums and grammatical riddles.[1] Even discourses and discussions on serious matters were replete with far fetched meanings, obscure metaphors and figures of speech. Every student of Islamic studies was supposed and expected to have fully prepared some text of this kind. The award of highest grade or degree to any student depended upon thorough memorizing of any one of the texts, prescribed by the board of teachers or instructors.[2] It is also worth mentioning here that most of the scholars who haunted the court of Shahrukh, his successor, Baysunqur, his grand son Abul Qasim, grandson Babur Mirza or Mirza Abu said or Sultan Husain Mirza Bayqara belonged to this category.

In spite of its cultural and academic sterility, this period is not absolutely devoid of serious scholars. Musa bin Qazi Mahmud Rumi called Qazi zadah, Mulla Ali Qushji and Ghayas uddin Jamshid Kashani were such men of erudition and scholarship. But the number of them was very small. Even then no camparison could be instituted between these scholars and those who lived during fourth and fifth centuries of Islamic era for the reasons mentioned earlier. Fazlullah of Astarabad the pioneer of Hurufia[3] movement, bears testimony to

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1. Samarqandi, Ibid, pp. 1104-1105.

2. See: Samarqandi, Ibid, pp. 731-34).

3. About Hurufi sect, detailed description would be given in second chapter.

the shifting cultural malieu. No serious thought was given to thier philosophy as it did not fall in with the state policy, they were immediately beheaded. The ordinary punishment that was given to them was that, their feet were fastened with thick ropes and they were dragged round the city, through different lanes and streets, so that others might learn a lesson and abstain from cherishing such ideas as they were against the state policy. Qasim-i-Anwar,[1] the great poet of that period, was charged that he was spoiling the whole atmosphere by his corrupt ideas. In spite of all the obstacles and hindrances the Persian culture marched ahead. Historiography and fine arts, particularly painting, Calligraphy, architecture and glazed tile work, made remarkable progress.

Colonisation works during the reign of Shahrukh:

Shahrukh, during his reign, paid full attention to compensate for and make good the losses and damages caused by his father, Timur. During his reign cities developed, educational institutions were established, shrines, monasteries and other religious centre were founded and they flourished. The city of Yazd witnessed the construction of many new buildings by Shahrukh himself. He also encouraged his nobles to follow in his footsteps. In the same

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1. Muinuddin Ali bin Nasir, known as Qasim-i-Anwar, was the son of Harun bin Abul Qasim Husaini Qasimi. He was a great saint and a renowed Persian poet of his time, he lived during the second half of 8th and first half of 9th centuries of the Islamic era. For further details about his life and work following books should be consulted:

   i. *Tazkirat ul Sho'ara* (Biographies of poets) by Daulat Shah Samarqandi, edited by Muhammad ramazani, Khawar Publication, 2nd edition, 1366 A.H./1987 A.D. pp.385-390.

   ii. Samarqandi, Ibid, p.316. See under the events of the year 830 A.H.

   iii. *Kullyat-i-Qasim-i-Anwar,* (poetical collection of Qasim-i-Anwar), edited by Said Nafisi, Tehran, 1337 A.H.

manner, at the city of Merv, which lay in ruins with the passage of time, he took measures for repair and restoration work,[1] as Abdul Razzaq Samarqandi Observes: "(His Majesty) constructed mosques, laid bazars, built hot baths, inns, caravan sarais, palaces, educational institutions and other edifices in that city."[2]

During the reign of Shahrukh, the expansion and adornment of the city of Samargand was taken up and continued by his son Mirza Ulugh Beg. There too, "His Imperial Majesty established welfare institutions, magnificent edifices and left behind him many other evidences of his good deeds."[3]

Guharshad Begum was killed, after Shahrukh on 9th of the month of Ramazan 861 A.H./Ist August 1456 A.D. during the reign of Abu Said Mirza by some of the nobles of that sultan at the time when Mirza Abul Qasem Baber revolted against him.[4]

In the measures, taken for development and colonisation, Gauhar Shad Begum, the queen of Shahrukh, played a very important role. She constructed many magnificant buildings for worship, and welfare houses for charitable purposes. Famous among them are : monasteries, religious schools, Masjid-i-Jame (citadel mosque) of the city of Harat and citadel mosque at the city of Mashad, known as Masjed-i-Gauhar Shad. The glazed tile work of the mosque, built at Mash'had is a remarkable symbol of Timuri architectural glory

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1. Samarqandi, Ibid, p.94.
2. Ibid. p.95
3. Ibid, pp.236 and 239. See also *Zafarnama* of Nizam Shami, pp.167-168.
4. Samarqandi, Ibid, Fascicle III, P.1143 and Khandmir, *Habib us Siyar* Vol.IV p.68.

during the ninth century of the Islamic era. This gentle God-fearing lady, well-wisher of all human beings, was killed in 861 A.H./1456 A.D., by the order of Sultan Abu Said, the Timuri ruler, at the instigation of Mirza Abul Qasim Babur and was buried close to the grave of Mirza Baysunqur.

The colonisation works, done by Shahrukh, were admired by Abdul Razzaq Samargandi, in the following words:

> In short, (the city of) Herat, the dome of Islam, blessed to be the seat of His Soverign Majesty, the blissful Khaqan (the Emperor), grew into the assembly of eminent nobles, the pillars of Sultanate, the sphere from whcih rose the sun (of the fortune of all the rulers of the earth, the destination of all the free-thinkers and pious men, the centre of the wise and the learned, the abode of the poles and pegs (of faith and religion), the asylum for saints, and shelter for the devout. The affairs of this city received so much grandeur and glory and delicate purity caused the river Tigris to shed tears on the creeks of the city of Baghdad and the freshness of its fruits relegated the city of Samarqnad into oblivion.[1]

Shahrukh was followed by one of his princes, Baysunqur, who paid much attention to the embellishment of the city of Harat. He turned that city into the

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1. Samarqandi, Ibid, events of the year 813 A.H/1410 A.D., pp. 108 and 114.

centre of poets, talented painters and creative artists. The achievements[1] made in the field of art and other artistic works during the reign of Shahrukh, have been described at length, by Mo'inuddin Asfazari.[2]

Timur was a mixture of apposites and this unique feature of his character distinguishes him from others. Tyrannical, cruel, oppressive and harsh, a war-strategist and fully determined to win and to vanquish his adversery, he was extremely kind and indulgant towards indigent, helpless and heart broken persons.[3]

He had also great reverence and high esteem for saints, theologians, religious Scholars and great masters of learning. He was very generous to them and looked after them carefully and attended to their prolems. This is but natural and history bears it out. Even Chingiz Khan Mongol had such admirable qualities. "(Though) he was not the follower of any religion, did not abide (by the principles of) any sect, he was, nevertheless, above all clanish and tribal prejudices, shunned the concept of superiority of a people over the other. He honoured the learned and the pious of every community and paid them high regard. He considered them as a means (to attain the favour of) to God, Almighty, and held the Muslims in reverence.[4] But, after all Timur was

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1. See: Alasfazari, Ibid, Vol.II, p.87.

2. Ibid. p.317.

3. One of its examples is that, when he defeated Sultan Zainuddin Muzaffari and captured the Qila-i-Safid (white fort), he treated the ladies of the harem of the deposed Sultan very kindly. For further detail See: Yazdi, *Zafarnama* Vol.I. pp.432-433.

4. Jafar Shear, *Guzida-i-Jahankusha-i-Juwaini*, p.53.

Muslim, and his faith in Islam was "more evident than the bright sun."[1] Being Muslim, he had great reverence for Islamic faith, therefore, he paid much attention towards the learned men and laid great stress on the important role played by men of various arts and crafts. He was aware of the fact that he was ruling over a purely Muslim society and that society accorded its learned men a pride of place As Muin uddin, a native of Natanz, writes about him:

> "he knelt before the ascetic, hermits and saints; paid stipends to the poor, awarded scholarships to the students of (various) Sciences from the amount of the trusts meant for (religious purposes) and the teaching institutions as much as they demanded in conformity with the conditions that he had laid for these trusts and endowments. He, certainly and definetly, made no interference in the assets of endowments. He had issued stict orders to his ministers to the effect that such amounts as were ear-marked for endowment should not be deposited in his treasury. He Looked upon the men of wisdom as his friends and held them in high esteem."[2]

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1. *Asnad-o-Mukatibat-i-Tarikhi-i-Iran* (Historical documents and letter of Iran), the fourth letter of Timur to Sultan Illdarim Bayazid, p.116.

2. Natanzi, *Muntakhabut Tawarikh-i-Muini*, pp.279-280.

Saints and men of wisdom were more respectable to him than his ministers and the governors of various provinces. Timur himself declares:

> "the descendents of the Prophet, the judges, the theologians, the learned men, the prelates, the grandees and the nobles should sit on the right hand side of the throne"[1] while the governors and the ministers were seated on the left hand side of his throne.

In view of the monstrosities and persecutions committed by Timur and his successors, these small comforts are nothing. However, Shahrukh tried his level best to compensate for them and he, to some extent, succeeded in soothing the heart of the afflicted and the sufferers.

Timur, no doubt, attacked, looted plundered, ransacked, massacred, ruined and brought the people to the verge of utter poverty and indigence. The Persian Culture paled into insignificance as a result of the internal brickerings of Timuri princes and their persecution of the people in general. Moral and spiritual awareness waned. But inspite of all that full attention was paid to the restoration of Iranian cities and rehabilitation of Persian culture during this period which lasted for about a century.

Timur keenly wished for the prosperity and flourishing of the city of Samarqand and it was for this very purpose that,

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1. *Turbati, Tuzukat-i-Timuri*, p.328.

"he brought ingenious engineers, dexterous architects and enlightened craftsmen from all the countries of Fars (Persia), Iraq, Azarbiajan, the city of Islam (Baghadad) and the other cities, to Samarqand, the capital city of his empire and accomodated them there, for the specific purpose of laying the foundation of edifices, palaces and gardens."[1]

Ulugh Beg:

Ulugh Beg son of Shahrukh was appointed the governor of Samarqand despite the fact that he had already been holding the gubernatorial office of Harat. He was the only prince of Timuri dynasty who took keen interest in art.

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1. Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi. Ibid, Vol.I, p.572. The names of the gardens which were planted by Amir Timur in the vicinity of Samarqand, correspond to the names of the gardens, orchards and groves which flourished in various cities of Persia, particularly in Shiraz. Though the gardens and orchards of Shiraz were restored during the reign of Karim Khan and (1163-1193 A.H./1749-1779 A.D), but the recent excavations show that these gardens existed and flourished in Shiraz before 789 A.H/1387 A.D., the year when Timur ransacked the city. For further details about these gardens, see: *Fars Nama-i-Nasiri* by Mirza Hasan-i-Husain Fasya-ee. Edited by Dr. Mansur Rastaogar Fasya-e. published by Amir Kabir, 1369 A.H./1988 A.D., Vol.II, p.15, (the book of Fars by Nasiri), second discourse, p,15.

   Timur had a keen desire to make Samarqand, the capital city of his realm, the most flourishing city of the world. The gardens that he developed at Samarqand were on the same pattern as he had seen in Shiraz. The four gardens *(chahar bagh)* which still exist and flourish in Shiraz, with their original names, are: *Bagh-i-Takht-i-Qaracha, Bagh-i-Jahan nama, Bagh-i-delgusha and Bagh-i-Eram.* Sharaf uddin Ali Yazdi, has mentioned, in *Zafar Nama* (Vol.I.p427) that, Amir Timur, after his attack on Shiraz stayed at *Bagh-i-Takht-i-Qaracha.* At another place (Vol.II.p.14) he mentions that, Amir Timur, on the way between Samarqand and *Shahr-i-Kash,* laid a garden at a distance of seven *Farsakh* (42 kilometers) from Samarqand, on the top of the mountain and named it *Bagh-i-Takht-i-Qaracha.* For detailed information about the plantation of gardens and about the plantation of gardens and about their names. See: *Zaqfar Nama* by Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi Vol.I, p.801 and Vol.II. pp.6 and 192. See also: *Ajaibul Maqdour fi Akhbar-i-Timur,* by Ibn-i-Arabshah Samarqandi, p.220.

culture and various branches of science. Himself a man of letters, and philosopher, Persian art, literature and culture reached its zenith at Samarqand under his petronage during his reign. He invited highly renowned, celebrated and accomplished mathematicians, astronomers and astrologers to his court. Among them were also Mulla Ali Qushji, Qazi zadah and Ghayasuddin Kashani. He established, with their help, his observatory, called *rasad Khana-i-Ulugh Beg,* which was so well-equipped that it is still considered the most important observatory ever built throughout the whole Islamic era. These scholars no doubt were not the first to have installed the observatory, but in an unfavourable cultural climate, it was a remarkable step which paved the way, in times to come, for further development and progress in the field of astronomy and astrology and thus, furnished a solid ground-work for scholars and scientists. The result of the tyrannical rule of Timur and oppression by his sub ordinates was the cause of the birth of some politico-religious movements in Persia. Some of them were: Sarbudaran, Hurufis, Nurbakhishis and later Nugtavis.

CHAPTER - II

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS UPHEAVALS IN IRAN

Religious Policy of Timur

By the ninth century A.H., the society over which Timur ruled had virtually entirely turned to Islam. However, conversion to Islam did not eradicate the prevalence of pre-Islamic, even anti-Islamic superstitions, beliefs and practices at almost all levels of soceity. Muslims were of course divided among several sects, chief among them being the Sunni and the Shia.

Timur, himself a Muslim, was more zealous and enthusiastic, than any other Muslim ruler or Caliph, and never shied in showing his devotion towards Islam. He implicitly declared himself the successor of the prophet and claimed to be the eighth restorer of Islamic faith. He professed to have established the foundation of his Sultanate (empire) on the morality and religion of Islam, as he himself says: "And the first regulation which my heart dictated unto me, was the promulgation of the true faith, and the support of the sacred tenets of Muhammad (Gods' peace be upon him). And I encouraged the progress of the holy laws and the religion of Islam through all the cities and the provinces, and the Kingdoms of the earth; and I adorned my empire by the sacred laws".[1] We must of course keep in mind that announcement of adherence to the tenets of Islam by a ruler upon his accession also fulfilled a social expectation; its value as a policy statement was rather moderate.

In support of his declaration that he was sincerely devoted to the Islamic tenets, he founded charitable institutions which were given to the charge of those pious Muslims who claimed to be the descendants of the Holy Family of Ali,

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1. Turbati, *Tuzukat-i-Timuri*, p.174.

son-in-law of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), as he says in his *Tuzuk:* "Thus I regulated the promulgation of the true faith, I appointed a man of holiness *(Sadr)* and of illustrious dignity, to watch over the conduct of the faithful, regulate the manner of the endowments, and appoint superiors in holy offices; and establish in every city and in every town a judge of insight, and a doctor learned in the sacred law, and a supervisor of the market *(mohtaseb)*, of the weights and measures: and that he might ordain pensions and salaries for the descendants of the prophet, and for superior ecclesiastics, and for holy men, and for men of knowledge."[1]

"And I established a judge for the army and a judge for the subjects and I sent to every province and territory an instructor in the law, to forbid the faithful to practise those things which are forbidden, and to lead them to the path of truth."

"And I commanded them to build places of worship and monasteries in every city; and that they should erect hospices for the reception of travellers on the high roads, and that they should make bridges across the rivers."

"And I appointed ecclesiastics and religious teachers in every city, to instruct the followers of Islam in the abstruse and the fundamental principles of our holy law; and to preach to them the doctrine of religion together with the holy traditions and the sacred commentaries upon them."[2]

"And I ordained the *Sadrus-sudur* (the chief judge) should lay before the *Sayourghal* (grant given from the crown land) of the descendants of the prophet,

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1. Ibid. p.176.

2. Ibid pp.176-178.

of the stipendiaries, and pensioners, and that the ecclesiastical judge should communicate unto me all ecclesiastical concerns, and that the civil affairs should be laid before me by the civil judge"."[1]

The clergy supported this religious policy and approved of it and declared him the eighth restorer of Islam as mentioned earlier. They went so far as to bracket him with the earlier restorers who appeared at the turn of every century in the following manner : (1) Umar Abdul Aziz (2) Ma'mum (3) Almuqtadir billah (4) Azudud daula Dailami (5) Sultan Sanjar (6) Ghazan Khan (7) Uljayto Khan and (8) Timur himself.

Timur had inherited this religious policy from earlier rulers of Persia, i.e., the Saljouqi dynasty (429 A.H./1063 A.D--485 A.H/1092 A.D), in order to prove himself the lawful ruler of Muslims and the Islamic states. It is also worth mentioning here, that the Saljouqis were not the first to introduce themselves as the lawful rulers of Islamic countries, but they had also acquired this concept from the Ghaznavis, who had sent their credentials to Abbasi Caliphs and obtained some title to declare themselves the Sultans (the rulers under caliphate of Baghdad). They ruled as arrogant sovereigns by ignoring the weak caliphs, who were merely puppets in their hands; they claimed to be the lawful heirs, ignoring even the caliphs who also claimed to be lawful rulers, being the descendants of the family of the prophet. The Ghaznavis assumed unlimited

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1. *Sadrus Sudur* was the supervisor of the affairs related to the descendants of the holy prophet, the incharge of trusts, and all legal matters. Under Sadrus Sudur functioned judges (Qazi) and civil judges (Qazi-i-Ihdas). These offices also existed in the pre-Timurid Persia. (See Turbati,Ibid, pp.179 and 304). In the same manner, the mohtaseb was also the supervisor of religious affiars, he looked after the public affairs, by maintaining law and order in the empire, particualrly in public places and on highways.

power under the titles of the shadow of God and the vicegerent of God on the earth. To wrest even religious authority from the hands of the waning caliphate, they assumed charge of crushing all reformers accusing them of being propagators of heretical thoughts in the tenets of Islam. With this in view they crushed two sects, known as *Qaramathian* and *Mubtadea* (the innovators). This then was the traditon that Timur had inherited, a traditon reinforced by his claim to be the eighth restorer of Islam for the reason that the caliphate of Baghdad had been ransacked by Holagu Khan (656 A.H/1258 A.D). He could thus combine in himself the power derived from both temporal and spiritual wellsprings.

As an extension, Timur's conquest of several vast territories were proclaimed as *Ghazva* (holy war, in which prophet or any of his descendant was present), so that he might be called *ghazi* (the champion of Islam). Timur's attack on Hindustan was thought to be a *Ghazva.* Every war campaign that he carried on in this country was therefore, called Ghazva[1] by Nizam uddin Shami. The contemporary historian reinforces Timur's claim of being a holy warrior : The main aim of his campaigns, observes the historian was "to cleanse the region (of India) of corrupt infidels". In the same manner, in the last days of his life, he attacked China and named it the holy war against the infidels of Khata.[2]

When Timur resolved to attack China, he called the council of his nobles and addressed them thus:

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1. Shami, *Zafarnama*, p.170.

2. Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, Vol.II, p.447.

"Now, I have made up my mind that, I shall persist in the job which could compensate for all the sins. A good deed that cannot be done by every one is war with the infidels, exterminate the dualists and the irreligious persons. This task requires full power and strength. It is advisable that the same army should proceed towards China and Khata that eradicated the crimes, because, that region belongs to infidels and it is proper that the holy wars should be waged there against them, so that I may ruin the places of idol worship (Viharas) and fire temples. There should be built mosques and places for the worship of God."[1]

But conquering territories for unprooting infidelity was not the only preoccupation of Timur. he was equally unsparing in the conquest, of regions which had Muslim rulers. For this too he had ready justification, couched in entirely political terms; suppression of turmoil and seditiion. Timur's focus on the religious sanction of his political power was hardly new but he nevertheless gave it an accent that was rather pronounced. It became the legacy for his successors.

Subsequently, when Timur's son Shahrukh, came to power he laid much emphasis on this idea that Samarqandi, his contemporary historian, wrote about it in these words: "(His Majesty, Shahrukh) laid extreme stress upon extirpating the prohibited deeds and unlawful acts." He further wrote that " He was the only person who could be called true restorer and in fact he restored the faith".[2]

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1. Ibid.

2. Samargandi, *Matla-i-Sa'dain*, Vol.II pp. 737-739. For further information pertaining to Shahrukh's outward adherence to Islamic rituals, See: the same book. pp. 740, 742 and 836. Also, Khandi Mir, *Habib us Siyar* vol.III. pp.632 and Alasfazari, *Rauzatul Jannat* Vol.II.p.372.

On the whole wherever Timur and later his sucessors established their governments they gave specific significance to Islamic rituals, laid stress on paying homage and respect to saints and scholars, and this practice continued in every country and region. It is also worth mentioning here that the concept that Timur was the restorer of faith in the eighth century got further strengthened by his emphasis on reverence to religion, religious rituals and restoration of faith. The descendants of Timur were bound to believe him the eight restorer of Faith. Although, they knew that after the downfall of Abbasi Caliphs in 656 A.H/1258 A.D., the seat of Caliphate had shifted to Egypt and was in the hands of Mamluks (1254-1811 A.D), they (the Timurids) did not recognise the spiritual supremacy of the Mamluk on the specific ground that they were not the descendants of the family of prophet Muhammad. This prompted Timur to declare himself the eighth restorer of Faith and hence his contemporary historians started to attribute to him epithets like Khilafat Panah (protector of caliphate) and Khilafat panahi (protection for caliphate)[1] together with the other titles that he had adopted. In the same way, the successors of Timur and their court historians resorted to the practice and prefixed such titles to his name. In the court chronicles, Shahrukh has been mentioned as the lawful heir to the office of caliphate,[2] and was considered the morning sun, which had risen in

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1. Shami, Ibid, pp. 171 and 269.

2. Samarqandi, Ibid, p.6.

the realm of the caliphate.[1] In the same manner Sultan Abu Said Mirza was entitled as His Majesty the refuge of caliphate.[2]

Some salient features of politico religious movements

Before speaking about politico religious movements of the time of Timur and his successors we should keep in mind some important points given below:

1. Proclamation to be Mahdi by those leaders who launched Darvish movement.

All the Muslims firmly believe that there will appear a Saviour named Mahdi (a guide deliverer from miseries and sins). This is also confirmed by the verses of glorious Quran. "God has promised ---."[3]

> He will establish in authority their religion - the one which He has chosen for them; and that He will change (their state), after the fear in which they (lived), to one of security and peace: ....

Prophet Muhammad has also forecast the appearance of a saviour who will come with Christ, some time before the Doomsday.[4]

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1. Ibid.

2. Samarqandi, Ibid, p.5 From p.1019 this title has been mentioned time and again. It is worth mentioning that Timurid rulers, alongwith the titles like, **Khilafat panah** and **Khilafat panahi**, used Turkish titles also, among them the most prominent was **"Khaqan"**. It is for this reason that in all the court chronicles, Shahrukh has been called as the **Khaqan Sa'id** (the blessed Tartaric King) and Sultan Husain Baysunqur, was addressed as **"Khaqan Mansur"** (the victorious Khaqan). See Mir Khand, *Rauzat us Safa*, Khayyam publication, 1339 A.H./1960 A.D., Vol.7, pp.3 to 5

3. Sura-i-Anbia', vers, 105, Sura-i-Nour, Vers, 55, Sura-i-Fath, Vers 28.

4. *Behar-ul-Anvar*, by Mulla Muhammad Baqir Majlesi, Pub. Islamia, Tehran, 1362 A.H., Vol.52, p.122.

Ali has also spoken in one of his sermons that when tyrannies, oppression, crimes and sins will reach their peak there will appear, one of the descendants of the prophet Muhammad who will relieve the oppressed people from hardships and will maintain social equity and justice in the world.[1]

Hafiz Shirazi, the celebrated Persian poet, also gives glad tidings in his ghazal (lyric poem):

Muzhda aye dil ki Masiha nafasi mi ayad
ke ze anfas-i-Khushash buy-i-Kasi mi ayad
Ze gham O dard makun nala O faryad ki doush
Zada am fali O faryad rasi mi ayad[2]

[Oh, heart! this is a glad tiding (to you) that there would appear (a person), possessing miraculous breath of Christ. His sweet smelling breath is giving the good news of his arrival.

Do not make laments and shouts with grief and anxiety, because last night I got this good omen that their would appear one who would redress our grievances.]

Whenever the tyrannical acts of a particular class (i.e., the ruling class) reached their climax in a society, the reformers of that society took advantage of these omens and gave religious tinge to their political movements to get the support of common people by exploiting their religious sentiments. Some saints who wanted politico social reform in the society also claimed to be Mahdi,

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1. *Nahjul Balaga,* Ali bin Abu Talib, Compiled by Faizul Islam, Tehran, Hikmat, 147.

2. *Lesan ul Ghayb Khwaja Shamas ud din Muhammad Hafiz Shirazi,* edited by Pezhman Bakhtiyari, 1347 A.H./1963 A.D., p.235.

Though they did not bear such miraculous signs which have been predicted in Islamic traditions about the appearance of Mahdi, but as they wanted to launch their movement against the oppressive ruling class, therefore, they used this concept as crowbar for the moral uplift of their society.

The pioneers of Hurufi, Nurbakhshi, Nuqtavi and the other movements alike took advantage of the appearance of the predicted Mahdi and revolted against tyrannical behaviour of the oppressing class to maintain social equity and justice. For this cause they lived saintly life. Fazl Ullah Naimi Astarabadi made himself a model of piety and was so strict in his conduct that he did not take even his bread from any person. It was for this reason he became known Saiyid Fazl Ullah Halalkhor (the eater of lawful bread). He used his pious conduct as a sharp weapon against the oppressive conduct of Timur and his successors.

Timur as well as his successors took positive attitude to neutralize the effect of these movements. For this purpose they posed themselves not only highly religious minded but also the protector of Islamic faith.

Timur declared himself endowed with authority and championship of Islam, which on one hand served as a weapon to encounter these movements and on the other gave sanctity to his rule all over the world of that age. This viewpoint also helped him to expand his territories by annexing other countries by subduing them.

It should also be pointed out here that to exploit the sentiments of the people, this policy had already been put into practice by the rulers who lived before Timur. For example, Mansur, the Abbasi Caliph named one of his sons Mahdi and propagated that he was the same person (Mahdi) for whose

appearance people were anxiously waiting for long. The common people believed it blindly and promised to him their loyality.

In Islamic traditions all the fictitious persons who claimed to be Mahdi have been marked a Dajjal[1] (the single eyed imposter) and it has been predicted that some time before the doomsday there will appear many persons to declare themselves Mahdi, as the celebrated Persian poet Hafiz says:

Kujast an Sufi -i- Dajjal Chashm, mulhid shakl

begu besuz ki Mahdi-i-din panah rasid.[2]

(Where is that Sufi, who bears a single eye like Dajjal and tell him that, he should consume himself (in the fire of jealousy), because Mahdi, the protector of the faith has appeared).

The Safavi order, in the form of purely a sufistic movement, was started by Sheikh Safi Uddin of Ardbil. But, at a later stage, particularly during the time of Sheikh Junaid, commonly known as Sultan Junaid completely changed its course and became simply a political movement, which continued in the religious covering. Then, there came a time when Shah Ismail declared himself Mahdi to materialize his political objects. But, unfortunately he proved very tyrannical and oppressive to his own people.

It is also worth mentioning here, that the religious beliefs of the pioneers of some of these movements, like Hurufi and Nuqtavi, did not accord well with Islamic faith. From some sources, of course recorded by their opponents, it is revealed that their concept about God, Day of Resurrection, human beings and

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1. Derivid from Syriac language, prononced Daggala, a lier.

2. *Lesan ul Ghayb Hafiz Shirazi*, Ibid, p.238.

Imams was quite different from that given by Islam. It is a hard and fast rule of Islam that if a person deviates from its fundamental principles, he is declared any unbeliever or infidel. The religious beliefs of the founders of the above mentioned movements and their followers will be fully discussed in the following pages.

It should also be pointed out here, that in every period of history a horrifying incrimination has always been existing in Persian society, which was applied by the ruling class, with the help of its puppets to crush, rightly or wrongly, its opponents. Since the rise of Sassanis (224-652 A.D.) down to the extinction of Suljuqi power (431-682 A.D./1039-1283 A.D.) many liberty seekers and non-conformists were charged as atheists and therefore, put to death, either by cutting their throat, or by hanging, or burnt alive or thrown in the prisons. Manes 9215-276 A.D.) raised voice against Sassani kings and demanded equity and social justice, but was killed by Bahram I (272-276 A.D.).

The same practice was followed by Abbasi caliphs (136-656 A.H./753-1258 A.D.), particularly during the reign of caliph Mansur (136-158 A.D./753-774 A.D.). In his time racial discrimination between Arabs and the Persian, called sarcastically Mawali (the masters) became extremely wide. It should also be pointed out here, that the Ummayya (660-750 A.D.) caliphate was overthrown by Abbasi, with the help of the Persians, but after coming to power they also became enemies of the Persians. During the reign of Jafar al Mutavakkil (232-247 A.H./846-861 A.D.) differences became so wide that he sought help of Turks to suppress the Persians. When the Persians demanded equity and social justice, on the principles of Islam, they were charged with

Manichism, or dualism and therefore were declared apostates. Mansur started the campaign to annihilate at least the prominent Persians and after him, his successor, Mahdi (158-169 A.H./774-785 A.D.) appointed an officer, entitled *Saheb ul Zanadiqa* (the incharge of the apostate), whose duty was to scrutinize the Persians and kill those alleged to be apostate.

Timur, in crushing, suppressing and annihilating his opponents was no less than any of his predecessors. In his time Hurufis were the victim of his tyrannical and oppressive acts. They were either charged as infidel or apostate and were declared as deserving capital punishment by the mere puppet clergy class, associated with his court.

Nuqtavis also met with the same fate. Their leader one of the disciples of Fazl Ullah Hurufi, declared himself *Maud-i-Ajam* (the promised dot) to get freedom for the Persians, the desire that they cherished since long. But, he was provounced guilty and put to death.

The Sufi movement, during Safavid period, followed the foot steps of its predecessors and gave practical shape to the cherished desires of their ancestors. The supporters of this movement were successful in their aim and brought political freedom to their country. But, as the Safavids, for maintaining power in their hands, crushed many human rights and many Islamic traditions, therefore they were opposed by Nuqtavis. By that time, Nuqtavis had become so powerful that they posed a threat to the Safavids. But, the ultimate result was that a large number of them were killed, being charged treacherous and many of them migrated to Hindustan to save their lives.

This can be said, in a nut shell, that the movements that came into being during Timur and his successors, took politico-social measures for restoring human rights. Some of these movements in fact, played very significant role, which shall be discussed below.

Mystic Movements during 8th and 9th centuries A.H. (14th and 15th Centuries A.D.)

INTRODUCTION

By the end of sixth century and the beginning of seventh century A.H. (12th - 13th centuries A.D.), there came into being two great mystic orders in the Eastern and Western parts of Persia. One of them was known as Suhrawardis order and the other was called Kubravia after Najmuddin Kubra (martyred in 618 A.D./1221 A.D.). The Suhrawardis were divided into two groups. One of them belonged to Persia and the other to Multan (Pakistan). The founder of Suhrawardis order was Sheikh Shihab Uddin Abu Hafs U'mar bin Muhammad Suhrawardi (d. 632 A.H./1234 A.D.). He wrote three treatises on mysticism, namely *Alam Ul Huda, A'warif ul Maarif* and *Rashaf ul Nasaih ul Imania.* He produced many sagacious disciples. Some of them, who rose into prominence, were : Uhad Uddin Kirmani (d.678 A.H./1279 A.D.), Mushrif bin Muslih Sadi Shirazi (d.691 A.H./1291 A.D.), Sheikh Shams Uddin Safi, Sheikh Ahmed Yasvi, A'izuddin Mahmud Kashani Natanzi (the translator of Awarif ul Ma'arif, a treatise on mysticism written by Suhrawardi and the commentator of Ibn-i-Farez's laudatory poem, ending on the letter "Ta" of Persian and Arabic alphabets). A'ezuddin Mahmud and Kamaluddin Abdul Razzaq Kashani were respectively disciples of Abdul Samad Natanzi and Najib Uddin Buzghash Shirazi.

The teachings of Najmuddin Kubra were broadcast after his martyrdom by his disciples. Sheikh Ul Islam Saif Uddin Bakharzi (d.658 A.H./1259 A.D.) in Transoxiana, A'in ul Zaman Jamaluddin Gili (d.651 A.H./1350 A.D.) in Qazvin, Sheikh Sa'd Uddin Muhammad bin Moayyid bin Abdullah Hamavi (d.650 A.H./1252 A.D.) in Khurasan and Baba Kamal Jundi in Turkistan, Sheikh Razi Uddin Ali Lala (d.642 A.H./1244 A.D.) Sheikh Najmuddin Daya (d.654 A.H./1256 A.D.) and Baha Uddin Muhammad, Known as Baha-i-Valad (d.628 A.H./1230 A.D.), the father of Jalal Uddin Rumi as both of them passed their remaining years of life in Asia Minor.

The other renowned sage of this period was Sheikh Ala Ud Daula Abul Makarim Ruknuddin Ahmad biabanaki Simnani (d.736 A.H./1432 A.D.). He lived at Sufi Abad, Simnan (Persia). There he taught his students and trained disciples. He was considered one of the axes of the Kubravia order. Akhi Ali Misri, Akhi Muhammad Dihistani, Abul Barakat Taqi Uddin Ali Dusti Simnani and Khajawi Kirmani were some of his celeberated disciples. Abul Barakat Tagi Uddin Ali Dusti Simnani's disciple was Amir Saiyid Ali bin Shihabuddin Muhammad Hamadani (d.786 A.H./1348 A.D.). He was also one of the renowned sages of his age. As he belonged to the Kubravia order, he preached its teachings all over the Indian sub-continent.

As has been mentioned earlier, after the Mongol invasion Muslims living in Asia, Asia Minor and in some parts of Africa became the victim of the ruthlessness of the heathen Mongols and then of their heartless successors, called the Timuris. The heart broken, frustrated, disappointed and dusgusted people who had lost confidence in the ruling class, got solace in the sermons of these

saints. It was for this reason that monasteries became the fountain-spring of tranquillity and peace of mind.

The successors of the Mongols and the Timuri rulers, having realised the charm and spell which these monasteries cast on the common man thought it wise to show their reverence to the saints for the sake of maintaining and strengthening their social position in Muslim society. Some of the saints, who became aware of their high position in the society, took this opportunity by the fore-lock and took interest in the politico-social activities, and whenever they had any conflict with any ruler, they used their spiritual might as their weapon against him.

The sages of the Shiite sect, who lived at the close of the seventh century and beginning of the eighth century A.H. (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D.), followed suit. They capitalised the situation and established on a firm footing the shiite ideology and ultimately formed shiite state. This was the time when a number of shiite saints burst upon the scene, and founded some particular order. Among them the first that came into being was called Sheikhia-i-Jouria. It was founded in the Khurasan province by the supporters of Sheikh Khalifa, one of the disciples of Sheikh Ala ud Daula Simnani. This later took a political turn and started its activities under the Sarbedaran movement.[1]

Sarbedaran Movement :

A comprehensive and detailed account of the Sarbedaran movement of Khurasan and Kirman provinces can be found in the history books like: *Matla-i-Sadain* (Abdul Razzaq Samarqandi), *Zubdat ut Tawarikh* (Hafiz Abru),

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1. A body of the people who were ready to lay down their heads on the gallows.

Rauzat ul Jannat (Moinuddin Asfazari), *Rauzat us Safa* (Mirkhand), *Habib us Siyar* (Khand Mir) and *Zafarnama* (Sharaf Uddin Yazid) Besides, Daulat Shah Samarqandi in his *Tazkirah* (biographies of the poets) and Ibn-i-Batuta too in his travel account have given a full description of this movement.

The aim of this dissertation is not to write the history of this movement; the purpose is only to refer to those political, social and religious phenomena that caused this movement to come into being. This movement inspired the Mara'shis in Mazandaran and the Hurufis in Azarbayjan provinces to rise against the oppressive ruling class. This is also worth mentioning here, that the supporters of this movement and those of others such as the Baktashis, the Nurbakhshis and the Nuqtavis, being its off shoots targeted the blood shedding Chingiz, Hulaku, the beastly Mughals and that ruling class which danced to their tune. Here, this is also noteworthy that the Sarbedaran movement was the first revolutionary movement started by the Muslims of the shiite sect in Khurasan region, immediately after the death of Abu Said Bahadur Khan (736 A.H./ 1335 A.D.), the last king of the Ilkhanid dynasty of the Mughals.

Persia, after the death of Abu Said Khan once again became the hot-bed of political crises, under Interregnum between Ilkhani and Timuri period in the history of Iran to which a reference has already been made. During this period there was chaos all over the country; every provincial ruler in every region raised his head and tried to gain power and exercise his authority over all others. Tugha Timur Khan, one of the descendants of Uttakin, brother of Chingiz Khan Mongol was most ambitious. He was egged on by the nobles of Khurasan province to rise against Sheikh Hasan Ilkani, who had established his power and authority, some time before in the region of Khurasan.

Tugha Timur started to expand his territories from Khurasan. In the year 737 A.H./1336 A.D. he first captured Sultania region and plundered it. After that he tried to annex the whole of Khurasan. The nobles of that region, unanimously accepted his supremacy and conferred upon him the title Ilkhan. After having captured the whole of Khurasan, he paid much of his attention towards Astrabad and its surrounding areas, particularly to Radkan and Gorgan, which he respectively used as summer and winter resorts.[1]

In the meantime, Amin Ud dauwla Abdul Razzaq son of Khwaja Fazl Ullah Bashtini, a native of Baihaq district, Khurasan, revolted against Tugha Timur Khan. From the paternal side he was a descendant of Imam Husain son of Ali, and from his mother's side, he was linked to the family of Yahya bin Khalid Barmaki.[2] As a descendant of the prophet Muhammed's family, he was highly revered by the people of the region where he lived. In the life time of Abu Said Khan Bahadur, he was one of his courtiers and served as one of the governors of his kingdom. He also ruled, for some time, as the governor of Kirman province. After the death of that Ilkhani king, he rallied round him the people of Baihaq and organised them to campaign against the commissions of Khwaja Ala Uddin Muhammad, the minister of Khurasan.[3] Once he proclaimed that,

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1. *Zail-i-Jami ut Tawarikh-i-Rashidi* by Hafiz Abru, edited by Khan Baba Bayani, Tehran. 1317 A.H./1938 A.D. pp. 154-156.

2. Khand Mir, *Habib us Siyar,* Vol.III, p.275.

3. ibid, p.22-

> "Oh, you the pious Ones! a great turmoil has taken place. If we show any negligence, all of us shall be killed. It is a thousand times better to see one's head on the gallows than being killed like a coward".[1]

Since then the people who followed him were known as Sarbedaran. Sheikh Khalifa Mazandarani was the first person who took the responsibility of politico-religious leadership of the oppressed people of Khurasan. He raised his voice against the cruelty of the Mughal rulers, their plundering agents and those clergymen who were merely puppets in their hands. Sheikh Khalifa, before coming on the politico-religious scene, had spent some time in the company of some enlightened persons of his time. He travelled long distances and lived with Sheikh Baluye Zahed in Amol, Sheikh Ala Uddaula Simnani in Simnan and Ghayas uddin Bahrabadi in Bahrabad.[2]

Sheikh Khalifa Mazandarani could not get what he expected from the lectures of his instructors. Mir Khand describing the events of his life has mentioned that, one day Sheikh Khalifa was present in the lecture of his teacher, Sheikh Alaud Daula Simnani, who had gauged the profundity of his knowledge and learning and knew well that he had reached the stage where he could argue with his teachers and differ with them in certain matters. One day Alaud Daula Simnani asked him, which school of Sunnite sect he followed? As Sheikh

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1. Bahrabad was the town in district Jouvain, a centre of saints, called the Hamavis. There Sheikh Khalifa met and spent some time with Khwaja Ghayasuddin Hebat Ullah Hamavi.

2. *Tazkerah-i-Doulat Shah Samarqandi*, edited by Muhammad Ramazani, Padida Publishing, Tehran, 1338 A.H./1959 A.D, p.112.

Khalifa a deep thinker and followed the tenets of shiite sect, said, "what I am looking for is not to be found in these four schools". Sheikh Alaud Daula Simnani, was also extra-ordinarily learned and followed the Shafaii school; he did not have patience enough to hear such a blasphemous statement from his student. This statement so enraged him that he struck with the inkpot so violently against the head of Sheikh Khalifa that the head broke.[1]

After that incident, Sheikh Khalifa thought it wise to migrate to Sabzewar and settled down in the locality where the Shiite Muslims were in majority. There, he started to deliver lectures in the congregational mosque of the city. The main theme of his lectures was to fight against oppression for maintaining social justice. Though, the clergy class of that city pronounced capital punishment for him but he continued his mission. At last, on the 22nd of the month of Rabi ul Awwal 736 A.H./11th November, 1335 A.D. he was surreptitiously hanged by one of the arches of the mosque and thus he attained martyrdom.[2]

The movement started by Sheikh Khalifa and which took his life, was carried out by his disciple Sheikh Hasan Jouri. He organised all the disciples of Sheikh Khalifa, called Darvish, and took the oath of loyalty to their leader. He equipped these Darvishes with arms and established himself firmly in the cities of Nishabour, Abivard Mash-had, Herat and Balkh. These darvishes, furious and fearless started to challange the extortionist Mughals, and resolved to crush all the Turks and Tartars and put them to rout from the soil of Persia for ever.

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1. Mir Khand, Ibid, Vol.V, p.605.

2. Samarqandi, Ibid, Vol.I, pp.144-145.

The revolutionary ideas that the Sarbedaran had in their minds, are reflected in the following Persian verse :

Az bim-i-Sinan-i-Sarbedaran ta hashr

Yak Turk digar Khima be Iran nazadi

(For the dread of the spear of Sarbedaran, no Turk ever have the cheek to pitch his tent in Iran). Now Sarbedaran had become so powerful and had extended their power so much that they killed, in battle Khwaja Jalaloddin, one of the associates of Alauddin Muhammad, the grand vizir of Khurasan province. They captured Sabzevar in the year 738 A.H./1333 A.D. and seated Amir Abdul Razzaq on the throne, but, as he was cruel and tyrannical he was killed the same year by his brother, Amir Wajihuddin Masud.[1]

Amir Wajihuddin Masud, a high ranking officer in the machinery of Sarbedaran government, always defended the interest of the oppressed and the peasantry.[2] He was such a great supporter of social justice that he was called an ideal man by all and sundry. In the realm of Sarbedaran, law and order was maintained so well that, if a gold or silver coin fell down on the ground in their

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1. Sheikh Hasan Jouri wrote a detailed letter to Amir Muhammad Beg, the governor of Neshabour and Mash-had, in which he apprised him of the politico religious matters. The extracts of the same are given in the following :
..... This humble servant was invited (by the people) to visit Sabzevar, out of many distircts of Khurasan (province). Their distruction, plunder barrenness and wretchedness has reached the extent that it needs to be checked (immediately). A way should be found out so that tyranny and oppression may be wiped off and the crises defused. If the measure is not taken, there will come a time when life and property of all Muslims will be absolutely destroyed" For further detail,

See : Samarqandi, Ibid, pp. 149-154.

2. *Tarikh-i-Tabristan-o-Ruyan* by Saiyid Zahiruddin Marashi, edited by: Muhammad Husain-e-Tasbihi, Entisharet-i-Sharq-i-Tehran, Tehran, 1355 A.H./1976 A.D, p.42.

camp, no body other than its owner could dare pick it up.[1] It was for this reason that the people, for their own welfare, strongly supported the revolutionary movement of Sarbedaran under the politico-religious leadership of Sheikh Hasan Juri, the enlightened thinker and the deliverer from the burden of hardships.[2] In a letter to Arghun Shah he laid bare the object of his mission and also broached the reason why he wished to continue it. Sheikh Hasan Jouri made war preparations against Arghun Shah, governor of Khurasan, appointed by Tugha Timur in order to strengthen his movement and hold. When Arghun Shah was Slain, Tugha Timur sent his brother, Amir Ali, from Gorgan to Khurasan to suppress the movement. But, he was also killed.[3] Taga Timur personally came to meet the challenge, but was defeated on the bank of the Atark river.[4] Afterwards, the Sarbedaran soldiers also occupied Gorgan province. In the year 743 A.H./1342 A.D., Sheikh Hasan Jouri led his

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1. *Safarnama-i-Ibn-i-Battuta,* by : Ibn-i-Battuta, translated by Dr. Muhammad Ali Movahhed, Bungah-i-Tanjuma-o-Nashr-i-Kitab, Tehran, 1359 A.H./1980 A.D, Vol.I, p.434.

2. Now, Amir Wajihuddin Masud and his followers say that "We will stand firm for the cause in which lay the interest of Muslims. Every created being, who will speak to us the truth, shall be listen to by us. We are bound to work for the welfare of Muslims. All the leaders of the faith and the elders of the districts of Baihaq and Nishabour agree that repression of oppressioin and release of Muslims is obligatary". See: Samarqandi, Ibid, p.153.

3. Amir Mahmud bin Amir Yamin Uddin Tughraii, commonly known as Ibn-i-Yamin (d. 769 A.H./1367 A.D. belonged to the town called Faryoumad. This Persian poet belonged to the Shiah sect and mostly composed verses on moral and social reform. The revolutionary ideas of Sarbedaran too are reflected in his poetical compositions.

4. Ghor is a mountainous region lying between Herat and Ghazna. Feruzkuh was its capital city, where were the quarters of the nobles of that region.

followers, along with the renowned Persian poet Ibn-i-Yamin Faryaumadi, to attack Malik Husain Kurt, the ruler of Herat, Ghor and Gharjistan.[1]

In the beginning Amir Wajihuddin was very successful in his war compaigns. But, the killing of Sheikh Hasan in the battle pronounced his defeat. After that, he made war compaigns in Mazandaran province which were rewarded with success. But, he was also killed in 745 A.H./1344 A.D. by Rustamdaran nobles.[2] He was succeeded by some of his followers whose names with the duration of their rule are given below :

Pahlavan Aqa Muhammad Timur (754-747 A.H./1344-1346 A.D.)[3]

Kulu Isfandyar (747-749 A.H./1346-1348 A.D.)[4]

Pahlavan Amir Shamsuddin Fazlullah (749-Seven month/1346 A.D.)[5]

Khwaja Yahya Karabi (735-759 A.H./1352-1367 A.D.).[6]

Khwaja Zahir Karabi (759-760 A.H./1357-1358 A.D.).[7]

Pahlavan Haidar Qassab (760-761 A.H./1358-1359 A.D.).[8]

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1. Gharjistan or Gharestan was the country surrounded by Herat in the East, Ghor in the West, Marv ul rud in the South and Ghazna in the North. The nobles of this region were called Ghar. Ghar is derived from Pahlavi word Gar, meaning a mountain.

2. For detailed study see : Khand Mir, Ibid, pp.362-363.

3. Kulu, means the chief of a guild.

4. See : Mir Khand, Ibid, p.617.

5. ibid, p.620 and *Mujmal-i-Fasihi* by Fasih Ahmad Khafi, edited by Mahmoud Farrukh Khorasani, p.85.

6. *Tazkira-i-Daulatshah* Samarqandi, p.213, Mir Khand, Ibid, p.621.

7. *Tazkira-i-Daulat Shah* Samarqandi, pp.214-215.

8. Mir Khand, Ibid, pp.621-622 and *Tazkira-i-Daulat Shah* Samarqandi, p.214.

Lutfullah Ibn-i-Amir Masud (761-762 A.H./1359-1360 A.D.).[1]

Pahlavan Hasan-i-Damghani (762-766 A.H./1360-1364 A.D.).

and Khwaja Najm Uddin Ali Muayyid (766-783 A.H./1364-1381 A.D.).[2]

Khwaja Najmuddin Ali ruled for a longer period than others. Moayyid the last ruler held the power of Sarbedaran government in his hands for seventeen years. He was one of those cheifs of Sarbedaran state "who showed extreme enthusiasm in favour of the Shiite sect", as is observed by Samarqandi. He ordered that the name of twelve Imams should be minted on the coins. Every day he kept ready a saddled horse for Mahdi, the twelfth Imam. he believed that the Imam might come, some day, at any time and he would go with him to make compaign against the oppressors.

In Lebanon, Jabal-i-Amil was an important centre of the Shiite scholars and teologians in the 8th century A.H./15the century A.D. Khwaja Najmuddin Ali was deeply intrested in strengthening his relations with that centre. For this purpose, he maintained correspondance with Sheikh Zia Uddin Makki known as Shahid-i-Awwal or the Premiet Martyr (martyred on 9th of the month of Jamadi Ul Awwal 786 A.H./30th June 1384 A.D.). He was always invited to visit Sabzvar. Shahid-i-Awwal, in return of the reverence, showed by Khwaja Najmuddin, wrote Allamat al Damashqiya, a book in Arabic on jurisprudence. He dedicated it to him and sent it to Sabzevar through Shamsuddin Avi.

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1. Fasih Ahmad Khafi, Ibid, p.95.

2. Daulat Shah Samarqandi, Ibid, p.217, *Rayhanat ul Adab*, by Muhammad Ali Modarres, Shafaq Publication, Tabriz, 1369 A.H., Vol.III, p.277.

It is said that, during the reign of Khwaja Najmuddin people lived in peace and prosperity. He introduced the post of headman in every village. He always used simple dress. The nobles as well as the plebeians equally enjoyed his feasts. On every New Year festivities he opened the gates of his palace to the deprived and the downtrodden were allowed to take any thing they desired. In nights he used to go round the city to help the poor, particularly the widows, gave them coins or edibles.[1]

Sarbedars (or Serbedaran) ruled for about forty five years and were remarkably successful in maintaining social justice, and equity all over their domain. At that time the city of Sabzevar flourished very much and became an important trade centre. In prosperity, magnificience and gradeur it could compete with any flourishing city of Central Asia. They remained as long as they were united. But, just as they formed two groups and came in conflict with each other, they lost their state and authority. The ruling group was moderate, whereas the other group was very much theoretical and fire-brand. It had the support of the peasantry and of various guilds. Its main aim was social justice, and the main prop were those Dervishes who strictly followed the principles of Sheikh Khalifa and Sheikh Hasan Jouri.

These two parallel currents of ideas continued till the total down-fall of the Sarbedars state. But, during the time of Pahalvan Hasan Damaghani (762-766 A.H./1360-1364 A.D.) it took the form of a civil war and there came a time when Khwaja Ali Muayyid, the last ruler of Sarbedaran state and the leader of the moderate group came in conflict with Darvish Aziz Mujeddi, the strict

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1. Samarqandi, Ibid, Vol.I, p.427, Mir Khand, Ibid, p.614 and Khand Mir Ibid.

follower of the revolutioanry principles of Sheikh Hasan Jouri, Darvish Aziz Mujeddi political activities were checked and finally he was murdered. After that Khwaja Ali Muayyid challenged the supremacy of Sheikh Hasan. For this prupose he brought into limelight his tomb and the burial place of his disciple, Sheikh Khalifa.[1]

As a reaction to this measure the revolutionary group, under the leadership of Aziz Mujeddi disciple, Darvish Ruknuddin launched another revolutionary movmeent, that was crushed by the leader of the moderate group, the ruler of Sarbedars. Consequently Khwaja Ali Mu-ayyid, moderate in his attitude, lost the support of the common people. It was for this reason taht he was defeated by the ruler of Herat and lost all the occupied areas, including the city of Nishabour.

The down fall of he Sarbedars power has been described by Ibn-i-Shah in these words:

> "When Timur, the Lame, entered Sabzvar, there he met Sharif Muhammad (whom he has mentioned as the chief of Sarbedars and who was known for his shrewdness) and said to him that he had gone there only to see him. 'Tell me how can I release the regions that lie under Khurasan (province) and by which way I can regain them? By what means I can be successful in this difficult task and how I' Timur asked him, 'can put my step in this uneven path'?

1. Mir Khand, Ibid, Khandmir, ibid.

> Sharif Muhammed, in the beginning was reluctant to tell, but at last on the insistence of Timur, told himabout Khwaja Ali-Mu-ayyid. He also sent him the message that when the messanger of Timur reached, he should not hesitate to submit. Finally Khwaja Ali warmly received Timur, and even minted coins in his name."[1]

The surrender of Khwaja Ali Muayyid was reckoned by the sarbedars as an act of treachery and his followers were not prepared to submit to the imposed rule of a stranger. It was for this reason that in the year 785 A.H./1383 A.D. there was a general revolt against Timur, under the leadership of Sheikh Daud Sabzevari, which was crushed badly and Sabzvar surrendered on the Ist of the month of Ramazan (11th of the month of August) of the same year. Timur ordered a general massacre of the people of that city, because they had put up a stiff resistance. About two thousand persons were charged guilty and the feet of the commanders were fastened tightly and were made to stand in a circle. Then the bricks were laid to make the wall. After this brutal action, he ordered that the strong citadel of sabzevar should be completely ruined.[2]

Though, the rule of Sarbedars did not last long, Yet the sacrifices made by Sheikh Khalifa and Sheikh Hasan Jouri might not to be underestimated. It was sincerity and devotion of these two leaders for another movement in Kirman under the same banner. Subsequently, in the year 775 A.H./1373 A.D., during

1. Ibn Arabshah, *A'jaeb ul Maqdour,* pp.28 to 31.

2. Mir Khand, Ibid, P.1131 and Khand Mir, Ibid, p.435.

the reign of Shah Shuja Muzaffari (759-786 A.H./1357-1384 A.D.) the Sarbedars revolted against the landlord class in Kirman province under the leadership of Pahalvan Asad son of Tughan Shah.[1] This movement also penetrated into Samarqand. At the time, when Timur attacked this city, its inhabitants under the leadership of Maulana Zada Samarqandi, Maulana Kharak Bukhari and Abu Bakr Kuluvi Naddaf fought against the external invaders. They adopted the same line of action which was followed by the Darvishes of Jouri order and stood so firmly agaisnt them that the soldiers of Timur could not capture that city at that time.[2]

The Sarbedars movement was also the source-spring of several other movements alike. Among them Marashi and Hurufi movements are worth mentioning. A comprehensive description of them will be given in the following chapters. But it should be pointed out here that Saiyid Qawwamuddin Marashi (who remained a prominent source during 740 A.H./1339 A.D. onwards) was one of the disciples of Saiyid A'izzuddin Sughandi (the spiritual guide and instructor of Sheikh Hasan Jouri). He carried the teachings of his guide - intructor to the province of Mazandaran and there he started a parallel movement.[3]

These results of intellectual exercises and religious enlightenment became the focus of attention in the region of Astarabad at the time when Saiyid

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1. For further detail see : *Tarikh-i-All-i-Muzaffar* by Mahmud Katbi, edited by Dr. Abdul Husain Navayee published by Amir Kabir, Tehran, 1369 A.H./1985 A.D.

2. Samarqandi, Ibid, p.333, Khand Mir, Ibid, p.406.

3. *Tarikh-i-Tabaristan O Royan*, p.166.

Fazlullah Astarabadi, the leader of the Hurufids was in the prime of his youth. He lived with the Sarbedars and the Marashids like two friendly neighberours.[1] It seems possible that such cordial relations would have brought them to a good understanding, because, Amir Ali Damaghani son of Pahalavan, Hasan-i-Damghani, the leader of sarbedars was one of the disciples of Saiyid Qawwam Uddin Marashi and from this it is clearly evident why Saiyid Fazl Ullah felt so much attached to the Sarbedars.[2]

Hurufia Movement

While studying the religious trends during Timurid period, we come across the movement of the Hrufia order. Though it was a politico-social movement, which came into being in the Timuri society and flourished during that peirod. Its appearance and consciouness was of a religious nature like that of other politico - social movements such as Sarbedaran, Nourbakhian and Baktashian.

We shall here discuss very briefly three questions about this movement. Why was this movement called Hurufiya (critical)? What was the ideology of its opposition to Timurids and why did this movement fail in Persia?

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1. *Majmua-i Rasael i Hurufiya*, p.43.

2. *Dunbala-i-Justujou dar Tasawwuf-i-Iran*, (Supplemented to the search of Mysticism in Persia) by Dr. Abdul Husain Zarrinkoub, Amir Kabir publication, Tehran, 1362 A.H./1983 A.D., p.55.

The Sarbedaran movement aimed at gaining social justice by fighting against the tyrannical measures of contemporary rulers. A similar movement also started in the region of Astarabad and Mazandaran by Qawwamuddin Mar'ashi, the disciple of Saiyid 'Aizuddin Soughandi and the successor of Sheikh Hasan Jouri; he received inspiration from the ideology of Sarbedaran, at the time when Saiyid Fazlullah was in the prime of his youth. In fact, he had combined the movements of Sarbedaran and Mar'ashis. It seems obvious that there were also among the followers of Fazlullah some members who belonged to Sarbedaran group.[1]

These religious trends left very deep impression upon his mind. Though, he belonged to a rich and renowned family his father being the supreme judge of Astarabad he took to the path of self abandonment and looked down upon everything that led to a life of luxury much before he was of age. At this tender age, he took to performing all the religious obligations and duties with devotion. Most of the time he was on fast and retrained even from his daily bread. This practice of his earned him the nick-name "Halal Khur" (One who gets his sustenance through Lawful means),[2] as Nafeji has rightly pointed out, in his book entitled *Khab Nama* (book of dreams), : "God, being glorious and exalted,

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1. One of the leaders of Sarbedaran was Amir Ali Damghani, son of Pahlavan Hasan Damghani. He was the disciple of Saiyid Fazlullah Naimi of Astarabad. This evidently indicates some relations between the members of Sarbedaran movement and Saiyid Fazlullah. For further information see also: Haurt,C a collection of treatises related to Hurufia *Majmua Rasael-i-Hurufia* published by Mola, Tehran, 1360 A.H./1981 A.D. p.43, *Aghaz-i-Firqa i Hurufia* (Rise of Hurufia sect) by Ritter H.translated by : Dr Heshmat-i-Moayyed, Farhang-i-Iran Zamin, Vol.10, Tehran, 1341 A.H. p.62 and Zarrin Koub, *Dunbala-i-justujou-i-Tasawwuf dar Iran,* p.55.

2. Ritter, Ibid. p.21, MSS. *Khabnama* by Nasrullah Nafeji, quoted by GOI Pinarli, Ibid, p.39.

The founder of Hrufiya order or rather the pioneer of this movement was Saiyid Fazlullah Naimi Astarabadi, son of Abu Muhammed Tabrizi. He was born in the year 740 A.H. (1339-1340 A.D).[1]

He was born a few years after the death of Sultan Abu Said (736 A.H./1335 A.D), the last ruler of Ilkhahid Mongol dynasty. This was the time when Persia was passing through a serious politico-social crisis, which had strongly enveloped the intelligentsia of that period and caused great havoc at the level of that class. Fazl ullah was also greatly influenced, materially and mentally, by that situation. At that time, mysticism and shiism also got interpeneterated and gave impetus to the ideas of the agitated leaders like Sheikh Khalifa and Sheikh Hasan Jouri, pioneers of political revolt among the people called sarbedaran (ready to accept the gallows).

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1. There is a great controversy about the definite place of birth, of Fazlullah and the time of his assocination. The contemporary and later sources differ in their views about this matter. Shamsuddin Muhammed bin Abdul Rahman Sakhavi has mentioned his name Abdul Rahman and date of his killing was 804 A.H. (1401-1402 A.D) See: *Alzo ul lame le ahl el Qarn et Tase,* fascicule VI, published by Maktabatul Qudsi, Cairo, 1354 A.H., p.174). Taqi ul din Muhammad bin Moinuddin (died in Deccan in 979 A.H./1571 A.D) has written in *Arafat Ul Ashiqin* that after the death of Timur (807 A.H./1404 A.D) he was killed by Shahrukh (850 A.D./1447 A.D) at Bawanat. See *Wazhahnama-i-Gurgani,* written by Dr. Sadiq Kiya, published by Tehran university Tehran, 1340 A.H. p.14 Among later sources Haji Khalifa writes under the chronogram: "*Javedan Nama* and *Arsh Nama*" (which by mistake has been written as arsnama) that his name was Jalaluddin and was killed in 802 A.H. (See: *Kashful Zunun,* in two Vols. Istanbull, 1360 A.H. vol.I, column 587 and Vol. II column 1132.

Reza Quli Khan Hidayat (d.1288 A.D.1872 A.D) writes that he belonged to Mashad, see: the poetical biographies, entitled *Tazkirah-i-Riyazul Arifin,* compild by Mehr Ali Gurgani, Tehran edition, p. 352-40. Ismail Pasha Baghdadi, writes that he belonged to Astarabad, Tabriz. See: *Hidyat-ul-Arifin,* Muallefin fin va Asarul Mosannefin) Istanbul 1951, Vol.I.p.822. But most historians are of the opinion that he was born in the year 740 A.H. at Astarabad, Tabriz. See : *Kursi nama* by Aliyyul Ala, quoted by Abdul Bqaqi Golpinarly, Texts of Hurafis (*Fehrest-i-Mutun-i-Hurufiya*) Translated by : Dr. Towfiq-i-Sobhani, Publihsed by, Sazeman-i-Chapp-o-Inteshgatat, Tehran, 1374 A.H., pp.2.7, Sadiq Kiya, Ibid, p.292.

with his perfect affection and favour granted him such insight and contentment that all the assets and belongings had no worth and value in the eyes of his heart and they had become so much insignificant that their existence and non-existence was all the same to him."[1]

Hardly eighteen or nineteen years old. Fazlullah had aspired to this stage of his mental development.[2] Like all the seekars of Truth, he took to jurneying and travelled long distances. In course of his wanderings he reached Isfahan[3] on foot and fell a prey to Sciatica, which forced him to stay there for four months at the inn, called "Caravan Sarai Bazar-i-Kard Sazan" (the Caravan Sarai of the Bazar of Knife makers) but at last he recovered from this pain.

His four-months-sajourn at Isfahan afforded him a good opportunity to unfold his latent gains and accomplishments. He saw many dreams and himself interpreted them. He consequently earned name and fame.[4] throughout Isfahan as a very correct interpreter of dreams. This faculty of his drew to him people of every class; the theologians, the saints, ministers, judges and army personnel visited him for the interpretation of their dreams. When he interpreted their

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1. An other reason to be called "Halal Khur" was that, he never took meal for him from any person. See: Sakhavi, *Alzo'ul lame'* p.174. Ritter, ibid p.22.

2. Ritter, ibid.

3. Nafeji is of the opinion that he set out on his journey at the age of eighteen or nineteen. According to this statement, Fazlullah would have been in Isfahan during the year 759 A.H/1357 A.D. This Year, Amir Mubariz ud din Muhammad had siezed this city from All-i-Muzaffar dynasty. For further detail see: Samarqandi, *Matla-i-sadain,* Vol.I, pp.284-286., *Mujmal-i-Fasihi* by Fasihi, edited by Mahmud Farrukh, Mashhad, 1339 A.D./1960 A.D, vol.III, p.87 and *Habibus Si'yar* by Khandmir, Tehran, 1353 A.D/1974 A.D. vol.III pp. 289-292.

4. Ibn-i-Arabi has also written *Futouhat-i-Makkiya* edited by Usman Yahya, Cairo, 1392 A.H., about the dreams and their wonderful interpretations made by Fazlullah. See: Zarrin Koub, Ibid, p.56.

dreams, he acknowledged it as a Dvine favour. Some thaumaturgic acts have also been attributed to him.[1]

While continuing his journey, he visited the city of Mecca as the pilgrim of the holy shrine there. On his return from that holy city to Tabriz, he met Sultan Ovais Jalayeri, the ruler of that region and his minister, Zakarya and Sheikh Khwaja, the chief minister of his state. They were so much impressed by his ideas that they became his disciples.

He also gave an arched head-gear to Sultan Ovais,[2] indicating thereby his initiation into his spiritual discipleship. There he married in a family which originally belonged to Astarabed but at that time was residing there.

After that, he continued his journey and visited Khwarazm, Burujerd, Damghan, Bagh-i-Sufyan, Imarat-i-Sikandar, Ibn-i-Uruq island (Iraq), Hazargari (Mazandran province), Taqchi locality (of Islam) and Badkuba. At these places, a number of interpretations of dreams are attributed to him.

This is the first stage of the life of Fazl ullah, in which he used to say that it was divine grace that was bestowed upon him by God Almighty.

Etymology of the word "Hurufia":

Arabs, like Romans believed that letters have numerical value, having tremendous power. It is this belief which provides a base for the whole philosophy of Hurufia order. This concept has been in the mind since the day the script was in the process of formation. This concept ultimately assumed the form of a branch of science, and scholars took part in studying it seriously.

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1. See: Ritter, *Aghaz-i-Firqa I Hurufia*, p.62 also Sadiq Kiya, *Wazhahnama-i-Gorgani*, p.240.

2. Haurt C., *Majmua rasael-i-Hurufiya*, p.43.

The evidences of such a concept and idea can be traced in the holy scriptures like the *Old Testament* particularly in the chapters related to the prophets Ezekiel and Daniel, and also in the *New Testament.*[1]

The idea, having traversed from the holy scriptures, got itself introduced in the literary works of some men of letters. In this respect we can cite the poetical collection of Husain bin Mansur-i-Hallaj[2] (sent to the gallows in 309 A.H/922 A.D) and the book entitled *Tawwasin*[3] in which a study has been done about letters and their numerical value. Besides the above mentioned works, another book, *Akhbarul Hallaj* also deals with this subject. In *Futuhat ul Makkiya* of Ibn-i-Arabi a detailed account has been given about it and great stress has been laid upon the significance of words.

Fazlullah, too, was attracted to this subject. He studied carefully the Old and *New Testaments,* gave serious thought to the works of Ibn-i-Arabi, attained proficiency in Arabic and Persian literature, carefully scrutinised the method of interpretation of the esoteric and established relation between religious matters

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1. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." The Gospel according to St. John. I.I.

2. *Diwan-i-Hallaj,* edited by Louis Massignon, Asian Journal, quarterly, Jan-March 1931, pp.63, 83 and 94.

3. *Mansur-i-Hallaj,* Edited by Louis Massignon, published by Librarie Paul Geuthmer, 1913 A.H., pp. 13, 14, 31, 56, 60 and 63.

and the etymology of Arabic and Persian letters, which are 28 and 32 respectively.[1]

However unique it may seem, he based the interpretation of the verses and the chapters of *Quran* as this seireca. The esoteric meaning of this holy scripture and the correct irterpretation of words, he observes, could only be comprehended if one had a deep knowledge of the science of words. He himself interpreted the meanings of Quran in this manner and gave new dimensions to them. It was this novel way of the interpretation of the Quran which suffixed the epithet Hurufi to his name and his followers were called Hurufis.[2]

BELIEFS OF THE FOLLOWERS OF HURUFIYA ORDER

The Hurufis believe that the cycle of the universe revolves on three axes. They are *Nabuwwat* (Prophecy) *Imamat* (leadership of Islam) and *Uluhiyyat* (divinity). The cycle of prophecy started from Adam and concluded on prophet Muhammad and culminated in him. The period of Imamat started with Ali, the

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1. *The poetical works of Naimi O Nasimi* edited by Prof. Rustam Ali Uf, Dunya Publication, Tehran, 1353 A.H. pp.30 and 31. The Essence which has been mentioned through thirty two letters, includes in itself the two worlds, whether it may be the vessel or the content in it. Oh: the master of grammar and you the innovater of the word, (should know that) the true meanings of the word are evident from the Essence. If the Word displays its grace upon you, the treasure of knowledge would be divulged to you. He speaks out to you, without sound and letters, such things that cannot be apprehended with the help of speech and words.

   Zati ki ibaratast az Sio Du harf
   Aine Du Jahanast che Mazruf che zarf
   Yani ki haqiqhat-i-Huruf az Zatast
   Ay ai Munshi-ilme naho-i-ai waze harf
   gar harf be tu jamal benamayad
   bar tu dar-i-ganj-i-Marfat be goshayad
   Be saut-o-hurouf ba tu ayad be horouf
   kan-i-nutq be saut-o-harf andar nayad.

2. Sakhavi, *Al zoul lame'* pp.173-174.

fourth Caliph of Islam and came to an end by the birth of Imam Askari (the eleventh Imam or the leader of Muslims, according to Shiite faith), while the cycle or the period of uluhiyyat commenced with the appearance of Fazlullah, who proclaimed himself Mahdi (the restorer of Islam, according to all Muslim sects). He was the last[1] in this chain of cycles and all the pious Muslims were bound to follow him.

Politico Social aspect of Hurufids thinking :

Hurufia was one of those movements which received inspiration from mystic thoughts and Shiism of which the first is purely Persian in its origin while the other was imported in this land with the introduction of Islam. These two different ideologies intermixed and developed into a philosophy which gave fillip to all the political activities among the Persians. This interpretation of one of the tenets of Islam by Fazl ullah Hurufi, the founder of this cult, was generally accepted by all Muslims particularly by Shiites. This prepared the ground for his political activities and paved the way for his proclamation as Mahdi the twelfth Imam and the restorer of Islamic faith, As he was fully conscious of the fact that according to the Shiite faith the institution of Imamat (Leadership of Muslim) originated from Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of prophet Muhammad and that it would be concluded with Mahdi, after his reappearance in this world.

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1. As one of his devotees says:

Hich kas Zin Pas Nakhahad Amadan
Joz be farman burdan-o-Piru Shudan

After him no body would come. There is no way, except to obey his order and follow him.

For further detail see: The collection of Hurufia treatises by Huart, pp. 21 and 22, and *Hurufilik,* by Golpinarli, History institutet, Ankara, 1973 A.D., p.19.

Here, one shold not be unmindful of the common belief of all Muslims that when tyranny, oppression, cruelty and sins would reach their peak, a reformer would appear, declare himself the twelfth Imam and would take up the task of reformation. Fazululah took advantage of this belief and declared himself the Mahdi, the twelfth Imam who had come to exterminate the corrupt Timuri society as had been predicted centuries before his appearance.[1]

It is also worth mentioning here that the concept of the reappearance of Mahdi or the final reformer is not new in Islamic world. Some time before him Hasan Nazari II, one of the leaders of the Muslims of Ismaili sect of Persia, proclaimed that he was Mahdi, the final reformer whose reappearance all the Muslims of Ismaili sect were awaiting. He also warned that the Day of Resurrection was quite near and that the Islamic law and order had ranished. He had risen in their midst, he stressed, to restore it and that his own way of life and conduct would uphold the Islamic law. Those who had faith in him, he exhorted, should follow in his foot-steps.[2]

Fazlullah who proclaimed himself Mahdi, or the final reformer, he aimed at eradicating root and branch all sorts of social evils and inequities prevailing in the society. His objective was to rid all human beings (particularly the Persian,

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1. Fazlullah, wrote in a letter to one of his disciples that after the appearance of the former eleven noble souls, he was the twelfth. See: *Tashayyu-o-Tasawwof* by Kamil Mustafa Alshaybi, translated into Persian by Ali Reza Zakawati, Amir Kabir publication 1359 A.H (1980 A.D) p.224.

2. *Jame'ut Tawarikh* by Rashid ud Din Fazlullah, edited by Danesh pazuh and Muhammad Mudarrisi Zanjani, Bungah-i-Tarjuma-o-Nashri-Kitab publication, (B.T.N.K.) Tehran, 1356 A.H. (1977 A.D) ps. 164-167, *Zubdat ut Tawarikh*, by Kashni, edited by Danish Pazouh , Tehran, 1366 A.H (1987 A.D) pp.200-203 and *Majmaut Tawarikh-us-Sultaniya*, by Hafiz Abru chapter related to Fatemiyan and Nazariyan, edited by Muhammad Mudarrisi Zanjani, Ittelaat publication, Tehran, 1364 A.H. (1985 A.D) pp.252-255.

at first instance) of the yoke of the invaders and usurpers of their homeland. Here at this point a conflict ensued between the Hurufis and the Timurids.

With a view to proving the superiority of the Persians over the Arabs and excellence of the Persian language over Arabic, he added four alphabets to the 28 Arabic alphabets. Thus he made the Persian script so competent and comprehensive as to convey his message in the language of the oppressed ones. He replaced Arabic by Persian and wrote a book bearing the title *Javedan Nama* (the eternal book) in the Persian dialect of Astarabad. This feat of Fazlullah made a remarkable contribution to the awareness or self-identity among the Persians. This movement launched by Fazlullah was mainly directed aginst the Arab domination over Persia in order to establish the sovereignty of the Persians in their own land and rekindle Persian culture and civilization.[1] No wonder that Mahmud Pasikhani, a disciple of Fazlullah and the founder of Noqtavia movement, a branch of Hurufia order, surpassed his spiritual guide in his ambition by calling himself *Ma'ud-i-Ajam,* the promised reformer of Persia. The Hurufids ultimately succeeded in getting rid of the Arabian culture and the Arabic language and banished them from the political arena of Persia. Now they were face to face with Timur and his descendants. They met this challenge by arousing the sentiments of the Persians on the basis of sectarian differences, racial discrimination and linguistic oppression. In short, Fazlullah, wanted to reaffirm the identity of Persians on the basis of cultural and racial superiority.[2]

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1. Golpinarli, Hurufilikly, pp. 19-20.
2. Kamil Mustafa, Ibid, p.224.

Fazlullah has also shown his inclination towards luxurious life of this materialistic world. Almost all his followers tread in his footsteps and interpreted everything religiious in this light; attached symbolic meanings to a life of luxury so that they might attain to everlasting bliss and beatitude in the divine universe. This attitude gained them much popularity in high politico-social sphere. However they failed to fulfill their worldly aspirations; they showed their hostility to the contemporary rulers. They proclaimed that the promised paradise existed in this material world and that all the beautiful things around them contained all that they loved and liked. The gates of morality, they warned, had been shut down upon the people of this world and that there was everywhere social chaos. These outbursts of the Hurufis wre enough to alert the contemporary rulers who began to regard them as a potential threat to their poltical authority which was likely to become a general contest. This sowed the seed of enemity between the Hurufis and the contemporary rules.

The political viewpoint of the Hurufis permitted them to have cordial relation with the politically powerful persons of the time, so that they could attract them towards their mission and they could get themselve a berth in the administrative machinery.

Fazlullah did not claim that he was propagating some new faith or religion, but his interpretation of some verses of the *Quran* and the fundamental principles of Islam was a powerful challenge to the ulema;[1] inevitably, a group of Muslim theologians of Samarqand declared him apostate and pronounced death sentence. Though Miran Shah was greatly influenced by the teachings of Fazlullah, but reluctantly, on the strict order of his father beheaded him with his own hand near Tabriz. Afterwards, his body was fastened with rope and was showed around in the lanes and bylanes of that city. His head was sent to Timur, who ordered it to be thrown into fire.[2]

No doubt, the body of Fazlullah perished and several of his followers were assassinated but this step could not kill the spirit of his mission because it passed, through his kith and kin to the next generations, and ultimately assumed the form of the revolt of Haji Surk, the Hurufid in Isfahan, in the year 834[3] A.H. (1527 A.D.) which culminated in the fatal attack on Shahrukh (son of Timur) in Herat by Ahmad, one of the disciples of Fazlullah. These two examples are sufficient to prove that Hurufids continued their activities and were bent upon realising their long chesished dream.

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1. The commentary on the Glorious Quran is permissible in the light of the Sayings of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) the parallel verses from the holy scripture, views of the companions and the Imams, descendants of family. Playing with words to prove an idea or to establish some new creed, without taking in view the Islamic traditions, saying of the prophet, declarations of the companions, observations of holy Imams and ignoring parallel verses of the holy book is not permitted in any case, condition and under any circumstance.

2. Sadiq Kiya, *Wazhah nama-i-Gurgani*, p. 32.

3. *Ahsan ut Tawarikh*, by Hasan Rumlu, edited by Dr. Abdul Husain Navayee, Bungah-i-Tarjuma-o-Nashr-i-Kitab, (B.T.N.K.), Tehran, 1342 A.H. p. 203.

Having been crushed in Iran during the year 800 A.H. (1397 A.D.), the Hurufis shifted to Anatolia and joined hands with the Sufis of Baktashiya order. Ali ula'la, one of the disciples of Fazlullah, continued his activities there and gained much popularity among the Muslims of that region.[1]

How Hurufis and Baktashis, being inspired by Shiite thoughts could continue their socio-political activities in the Ottoman empire among the Muslims of Sunnite sect. collected a large number of that region as their disciples and got their support for their politico-religious activities is an interacting subject.

This subject can be dealt with from two different points of views, i.e., religious and cultural on the basis of source material, available as evidence. It is noteworthy here that Baktashi, under the guidance of Haji Baktash Vali (d. 738 A.H./1337 A.D.) came on the scene before Hurufis for their growth started at Anatolia. Though they had Shiite background, but their ideas were ambiguous and required to be explained. We also know that most of the mystic orders had their political objects, for whcih they were using mysticism as their tool. As they wanted to collect people round them from different sects and classes, therefore they were very liberal in their religious views, and it was difficult for the local people to apprehend about their own belief and creed. It was for this reason that Baktashis, since the day of their rise, were able to continue their social activites with other Sufistic orders, like Haydaris, Qalandaris and Abdalis. They not only caused to instil ideas among Muslims of Sunnite sect, but also

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1. See: Golpinarli, *Hurufilik*, Metinleri Katalogu, Ankara, 1973, p.49.

among the nomadic tribes, villagers, soliders living on the borders of the countries and those people who were not aware of the ideas of Sunni sect. They did not keep themselves limited only to Muslims of Sunni sect, but also tried to bring Christians too under their influence. More important, they also won the favour of the guerrilla fighters of the Ottoman army and made a large number of them their disciple.

"Do as most mad men do, then most mad men will speak well of you," was the main policy of Baktashids, which they adopted in the Ottoman empire and got the support of the people of that country.

At the time when Hurufis were the victims of all sorts of afflictions in Persia the disciples of Fazlullah Naimi Astarabadi, were making their full effort in Ottoman empire to propagate their liberal views, which were very similar to the ideas of Baktashis. The exponents of Hurufid movement who were working for the cause of their mission were: Fakhr Uddin, Jalal Uddin Burujerdi, Fazl-i-Sultani, HUsain Khurasani, Mir Abdul Isfahani and Abul Hasan A'li Ula'la. Amogn them Sheikh Abol Hasan Isfahani, Known as Ali Ula'la. and Saiyid I'mad Uddin Nasimi were more enthusiastic than the others and played significant role for their mission after migrating to Anatolia.

A'li Ula'la, entitled *Khalifat Ullah va Wasiullah* (the Vecegerent of God, appointed by His will) was nineteen years old when he met Fazl Ullah Naimi Astarabadi and witnessed at the age of forty two years the murder of Fazl Ullah. He discovered his (Fazalullah's) three treatises namely, *Javdan Nama* (The eternal book). *A'rsh nama* (the book related to the throne of God) and *Mahabbat Nama* (book of Love). In these treatises he was able to perceive the

mysterious instructions that he had prepared for his disciples. He had verified *Javedan Nama* in the year 801 A.H./1398 A.D. A'li ul a'la married one of his daughters and had great reverence, being his son in law.

After that he was appointed in the country of Rum (Asia Minor) for propagating the ideas of Hurufi movement.[1]

I'mad Uddin Nasimi was a more enthusiastic successor of Fazlullah than A'li Ula'la. He was also more devout and self sacrificing person than any other Hurufi. Like A'li ul a'la, he also established family relationship with Fazlullah by marrying another daugher of his. After the murder of Fazlullah, he also migrated to Anatolia, like A'li ula'la. As he was very enthusiastic by nature, therefore, he took an active part in propagating the ideas of Hurufi mission in that region. He also expressed his ideas about Hurufi movement in verse.[2]

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1. As he has also pointed out in the epic, entitled *Kursi Nama* (Book of the Throne)

Man Firistadam Kitab-i-Kirdegar
Suye Rum az Sham nikou yadgar

(keep it in mind - that I sent the scripture of God from Syria to Rum).

Pishtar az man Kasi dar marzobum
Az kalam-i-haq nakard abad bum.

(Before me, nobody in this coutnry propagated the name of God, the Truth)

See also *Aghaz-i-Firga-i-Horufia* and see: *Kursinama* by Ali ul Ala quoted from Sadeq Kiya, *Wazhah Nama-i-Gurgani,* p.282.

2.

Fazl-i-haq Shud vagif-i-asrar-i ma
fazli-i-haq shud Jumleye anvar-i ma
fazl-i-haq shud rahnamay kar-i ma
fazle-e-haq shud, fazl-i-haq memar-i ma.

The grace of God, Almighty, became the known of all my secrets and the grace of God Almighty is all my light.

(Favour of God became my guide, His grace helped in building up my plans).

See : *Imad Uddin Nasimi* by Hamid Araseli, Published under the supervision of Hamid Muhammad Zadah, Baku. 1973 A.D. p.71.

As it had become known that Hurufis were campaigning against Timur, they were kept under surveillance by Ottoman ruler. There, they were harassed so much that they decided to remove the label of Hurufid from their mission. After that they united with Baktashis and continued their movement under their covering. The relations between Hurufis and Baktashis became so intimate that Baktashis included two names of Hurufi leaders and declared three persons, as the pioneers of their mission. They were Ali (the cousin of prophet Muhammad - Haji Baktash Wali and Fazlullah Hurufi.

From cultural point of view, the region of Anatolia has always been under direct influence of Persian culture since ancient days. Persian culture became prevalanet there when Alp Arsalan Saljuq attacked Byzantine empire with Persian forces and defeated Romans Diogenes in Malzgard battle in 463 A.H./1070 A.D.). There he established the rule of his dynasty which continued till 700 A.H./1300 A.D. In 707 A.H./1307 A.D. The Mughals of Ilkhani dynasty captured this region by removing Saljuq. Though both the dynasties were Turk, the administration was in the hands of their Persian ministers, who patronized their art, langauge and culture there. Persian had become so popular in that region that some poets, who were originally Turkish speaking, were proud of composing their poetical works in Persian. Among them Nizami of Ganja (535-599 A.H./1140-1202 A.D.) and Khaqani of Shirvan (500-594 A.H./1106-1197 A.D.) are worth mentioning.

Besides, when Mongols invaded Persia, many Persian families migrated there. This factor also played an important role for the prevalence of Persian language and culture. It was for this reason that when Jalaluddin

(606-672/1209-1273) migrated from Balkh (at present part of Afghanistan and Dari speaking area) to Qunya (Now part of Turkey and Turkish speaking region) found favourable climate for the continuation of his poetical compositions in Persian. In short, Persian became so popular in that region that from Saljuq period (431-682 A.H./1039-283 A.D.) upto the reign of Sultan Salim III (1272 A.H./1807 A.D.) all great and important works were written in this language.

This literary atmosphere, influenced by Persian culture, gave an opportunity to Baktashis and Hurufis, who were originally Persian for the development of Islamic thought under the banner of their own culture. It is also worth mentioning here, that Hurufis who claimed to be *Mau'oud-i-A'jam* (revivalist of Persian, language and culture) rendered such a great service to the propagation of Persian language and culture that people of Anatolia who were Turkish speaking felt proud that they also knew Persian. They used Persian idioms and proverbs in prose writing, and all the Persian diction and terminology in their poetry.

In short we can say that the Ghaznavis (366-582 A.H./907-1186 A.D.) and Saljuqis (431-682 A.H./1039-1283 A.D.), being Turk patronized Persian and made it an international language, in the same manner Hurufis and Baktashis popularised their language, i.e. Persian among Turks and left great influence of their language on Turkish literature. Besides they also propagaged Shiite thoughts among the Muslims of Sunnitte sect, in spite of all political and sectarian differences, which were great hindrance in uniting the Muslims of Sunnitte and Shiite sects.

The followers of Fazlullah commanded respect and had earned a good name. They were at liberty to interpret religious matters in their own way. They legalised those practices which had been prohibited by Islam forever. They also attracted many Christians of Anatolia and Balkan towards them, particularly those soldiers who were in regular service of the Ottoman Sultans and were of Roman origin. They were greatly influenced by the teachings of those mystics who belonged to Baktashi order.[1]

Here, it is irrelevant to discuss the merits and demerits of their interpretations or how they attracted some simple minded people towards them, but, what matters from the socio-historicalviewpoint is the nature of their movement which aimed at sowing the seed of revolt against the prevailing social order and the ruling class. This factor precipitated their total downfall not only in Persia, but also in the Ottoman empire.[2]

It may also be mentioned here, that the movement changed its guise and re-appeared in its most extreme form known as "Nuqtavi", with Mahmoud Pasikhani as its founder, who was one of the disciples of Fazlullah. He was working underground in Persia, but was exposed during the Safavi period and was crushed by Shah Abbas I (996-1038 A.D/1587-1628 A.D.).

When one studies the history of Hurufis, one should bear in mind, that they played a very important role in the diffusion and furtherance of Islamic

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1. Hurufis, among Christians called Fazlullah, that he was Christ, while among Muslims he introduced him as Mahdi, the 12th Imam of Shiite Sect. In this way, they invited Christians of Anatolia and Balkan to adopt Islam, as their religion, with some Christian traditions. Not only that, they also introduced those rituals too, which were based on polytheism. For further detail, see: *Tashayyu Wa Tasawwof*, pp. 172, 207 and 210.

2. For crushing Hurufid movement in Ottoman empire, See: Romlu, *Ahsan ut Tawarikh* , p. 676.

culture in Persia, Anatolia and the Balkans. They also left their impression on Persian literature and influenced some dialects of Persian in which they produced some treatises related to the Hurufia and Nuqtavi movements.[1]

During the eighth and ninth centuries of Islamic era circumstances were quite favourable for the development of mystic thoughts. It was on account of this, the mystic orders like Khalvatis. Naqshbandis, Pir Jamalis and Nimat Ullahis flourished very well. The spiritual heads of these orders were of the opinion that Subordinates of Timur and his sucessors were responsible for all sorts oppressions, tyrannies and destructive acts. For this reason, they launched their campaigns against them. Being inspired by the revolutionary thoughts of the Muslims of Shiite sect, they gathered many disciples round them and started their political activiteis under the covering of mysticism.

The source spring of all these mystic movements was the movement of Sarbedaran. They believed that they should fight, for the cause of the rights of Muslims against the tyrant rulers.

They were of the opinion that fight against the tyrant rulers should be continued in any case, even at the cost of their heads which could be chopped off at any time. Though this movement could not succeed in obtaining its objects, yet its spirit transferred to Mara'shi movement which was started by Saiyid Qawwam Uddin Mara'shi at Mazandaran.

Amongh all the politico-religious movements which came into being to fight against Timuri dynasty, one was Nur Bakhshi movement, founded by

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1. See: Kiya, *Wazhahnama-i-Gurgani,* and *Nugtavian-ya-Pasikhaniyan,* Iran Kadah Journal, No. 13, 1331 A.H./1952 A.D., pp.1-132.

Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh (d. 869 A.D./1464 A.D.) of Khurasan, who claimed to be Mahdi, (the reformer of the world) and played quite significant role for the cause of the oppressed people.

The Baktashi movement was another one, started by Haji Baktash vali (d. 738 A.H./1337 A.D.) of Khurasan, after migrating from Persia to Anatolia. There he gathered his desciples in a very large number. Haji Baktash, under the covering of this movement did a lot of work for the uprising of depressed people. On one hand, he was associated with Hurufis to continue his political activities, under the banner of Baktashis and on the other, it was influenced by those extremists, mainly Qazilbashis, who believed in the super natural powers of Ali, the cousin of the prophet. It was for this reason that Safavi rulers had great regard for the activitiees of this movement.

Fazlullah was himself a poet and composed his poems under the noma de plume Na'imi. Among his disciples Ali ul a'la and Nasimi were also poets. Nasimi's poems are felicitous and appealing to the mind. He has to his credit complete poetical collection in Persian as well as in Turkish. The movements merged in Shiite thought and mystic ideas bearing different names) (like, Sar be daran, Hurufis and Nur Bakhshian etc.) and even as it was crushed, it prepared the ground for the establishment of a powerful, independent and an important government, which appeared in the form of Safavi dynasty, which is still regarded very significant from the point of view of Persia's identity.

Nuqtavi Movement During The Safavi Period

In the description of the Hurufi movement of Saiyid Fazlullah Nai'mi of Astarabad above, a brief mention of Nuqtavi movement started by Mahmud

Pasikhani[1], one of the disciples of Fazlullah of Astarabad was also given. A man of piety, he was a good orator[2] and a depended upon lawful earnings. *(Halal Khure)* In the beginning, he was a good disciple and obedient student of Fazlullah. But, later when he became hostile to his spiritual guide, he was expelled by him and it was for this reason that he was nick named Mahmud Matrud (expelled). After that, he appeared on the scene in 800 A.H./1397 A.D. and started to propagate his teachings.

Apparently, Hurufi movement had died in Persia whereas if remained active in Asia Minor. But the missionary spirit of this movement continued to survive in the body of Nuqtavi movement which was in its full swing during Safavi period although suppressed by all Safavid rulers, particularly by Shah Abbas I. The ultimate result of it was that the followers of Mahmud Pasikhani were massacred and those who survival that havoc preferred to migrate to Hindustan, a safe place for living.

Regarding, this movement there arise many questions same of which are considered below: -

(i) Why the name Nuqtavi was given to this movement?

ii) What was the ideology of the followers of this movement?

(ii) Why this Sufistic order, having originated as a politico-religious movement in Persia was opposed by the Safavids, though they were also the followers of a pro-Persian politico-religious movement?

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1. Pasikhan is a village in the West of the city of Gilan, at a distance of 7 kilometer on the way to Fuman town. As Mahmud belonged to this village, therefore, his followers were called either Pasikhanis or Mahmudya.

2. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* by Sheikh Muhammad Mohsin Fani. Its first edition published with marginal notes Rahimzadah Malik, Ist ed. 1362 A.H. (1993 A.D.), Kitab Khana-i-Zuhuri (Zuhuri publication, Vol.I. Discourse VIII, p.274. See also Nuqtaveya and Pasikhanian by Dr. Sadiq Kiya, Tehran, 1331 A.D. (1952 A.D.) pp. 19-24.

(iv) Why did the followers of this order migrate to Hindustan and preferred to live in that country under the banner of the Mughal emperor, Akbar?

Basis of the nomenclature 'Nuqtavi'

This class of people was called Nuqtavi because their thinking was wholly based on the esoteric meanings of 'nuqta' or "dot". Just as Hurufis believed that the origin of the whole universe is based on Harf (letter), similarly they believed that the "dot" is the source spring of each and every thing. This theory was evolved by Mahmud Pasikhani for the reason that every thing that exists in this world is from dust, which is nothing but a collection of particles, called "dots"[1] by him.

On this hypothesis the exponents of this belief interpreted[2]

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1. It is noteworthy here that in the terminology of Nuqtavis, the word "vahid" was used for single or a celibate. The opposite of it was called "mazdavaj" or the married whom they called "amin" (the trustee). The compiler of the book *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* (Schools of different religions) says, that this writer had heart from Darvaish Safa, Darvaish Baqa-i-Vahaed, Darvaish Ismail, Mirza Taqi, Sheikh Lutfullah and Shaikh Shahab who are married (the trustees) that the single person (the celibate) speaks about Nuqta (dot) and seeks after dust, because, according to him, all the other elements have originated from the dust. Sheikh Muhammad Mohsin fani, edited by Rahim Rezazada Malik, Tahuri Publicaiton, Tehran, 1362 A.H./1983 A.D., p.274.

2. The interpretation of the verses of the glorious Quran was not done only by Hurufis and Nuqutyas in their own interest, but earlier the Muslims of Ismalite sect did the same thing. Particularly the Carmathians interpreted several verses of Quran and sayings of prophet Muhammed (peace be upon him) in their own way, during their political movement in 270 A.H./883 A.D. They did not care about the apparent meanings of the words, but went deep to explore the esoteric sense of them. They quoted the following saying of the prophet in support of their argument:

   This sacred book has been revealed in seven (consonants) i.e. A, B, C, D, K, L, and N letters, in which every letter is a verse itself which has exoteric and esoteric meanings. In the same manner, they also quoted in their support the thirteenth verse of a Sura (the chapter of the Quran), which reads *"Within it will be Mercy throughout, and without it all alongside, will be (wrath and) Punishment."*

   In this way they interpreted the verses of Quran, creating thereby suspicion in the heart of the believers regarding the apparent meanings and the accepted contents of the verses and the sayings of the prophet.

Some Of The Doctrines Of Nuqtavis:

Even as the Nuqtavis, like Hurufis had derived their principles from the teachings of Islam, they looked upon each and everything of it in their own perspective and therefore interpreted them according to their own belief. Their opponents have painted them alleging that they did not believe in God, prophethood of His Holiness Muhammad (peace be upon him) Imamat, Day of Resurrection, Hell and Heaven, as set forth by Islam. Thus they did not fit in the framework of Islamic faith, and fell in the category of Kafir (the infidel), and, on account of this all other Muslims called them Mulhid (athiest)[1]. They believed that the Supreme Being called till now God, Almighty, was the Perfect Man, whom they interpreted as "murakkab-i-Mubayyan" (the absolute Truth) and worshipped him. They believed that the prophets and Imams were perfect men and their quintessence was manifested in the personality of the person, namely "Muhammad." (the praised one). The Concept of Mahdi, in his being (the Saviour of the world and restorer of Islamic faith) and also in their person of his spiritual guide Fazlullah had developed among them with their thinking. They did not believe in the Day of Judgement and the other world. They were of the opinion that the Hell and Heaven exist in this world. All human beings get the rewards of their good and bad actions in this world.

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1. Dr. Sadiq Kiya in his article, namely *"Nuqtavian ya Pasikhanian* (Nuqtavis or Pasikhanis) (pp.24-25) quotes from the book, *"Nafais ul Arqam"* written by Muhammad Ibn-i-Mahmud Dihdar, "the second group is of those who are the refuters of "Indispensable Being", They are metempsychosist atheists and call themselves Nuqataviya...... and consider that they are the deity. They say as long as person does not recognise himself, he is servant, but when he attains self-realization he is deity. The formula of their faith is la ilaha illa *al murakkab ul mubayyan"*. (There is no god, but murakkab ul mubayyan, the absolute truth). When they say morakkab ul mubayyan or absolute truth they mean a human being. One of their principles is that there exists none, but morakkab (absolute) and *mahsus* (perceptible). They disbelieve unity and the state of rational singularity. They condemn reasoning and the act of conceiving.

Nuqtavis believed that everything that exists in this world is embodied in a particular figure and its particles would always remain in some form or the other. This evolution begins from stones, proceeds to plant life, then to animals and finally appears in the form of a fine human being. This goes on in such a manner that one can perceive its form and nature in its previous life from the form, conduct, habit, properties and characteristic, The awareness of this belief was termed as *"Ihsa"* (reckoning) and the person who could grasp it was called *"Muhsi"* (reckoner). It was for this reason that Nuqtavis were considered metempsychosists.

Mahmud, like his spiritual guide claimed to be "Mahdi", and on the basis of his metempsychotic ideas construed him the most perfect existent being and highly praiseworthy.

Mahmud Pasikhani had laid out some principles for his followers. The author of the book, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* (the different schools of religions), written in 11th century A.H. (17th century A.D), has mentioned some of them under the title, *"Vahediyya Wa Umana"* (the singular ones and the trustees). He says, "one of his regulations is that the unmarried is called vahid (singular), while the married one is known as amin (the trustee). The most admirable conduct in his eyes is that a person should spend his whole life in piety, mendicancy and celibacy. When he has no inclination for anything, except the meal that he takes only to keep alive, that person would rise high, and be single and attain the position of morakkab-i-Mubayyan, the deity of absolute truth. If a

married person is desirous of sexual intercourse, he should cohabit once in the whole life time. If he cannot control himself, he should copulate once a year, or after forty days or after a month or once a week.[1]

Apart from the main principles mentioned above, some secondary regulations have also been ascribed to them:

"One of the secondary regulations, in their religion is that, when a person, after self-realization, attains the State of a deity, he is free to have sexual intercourse with mother, father, brothers, sisters, sons and daughters. All forbidden things are permitted for him and he is allowed to deflower any woman he likes. Unity from their point of view lies in cohabiting with each other. They consider it cruelty to keep four women at a time. They give a woman to four men at a time and attribute the child to anyone of those whom they like.[2]

Mulla Abdul Qader Badauni, considering Nuqtaviya order as a metempsychotic sect, writes about it, "in their false supposition they call some one as Ilah (deity) and consider others as angels......However, in metemsychotic sect they are strictly firm.... They make far fetched interpretations of the various chapters of glorious Quran and the sayings of the prophet Muhammed (peace be

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1. They say that, the body of prophet Muhammad became more perfect. From that appeared Mahmud. The limbs of human body, since the birth of Adam, Gods' chosen one were in the process of evolution and by the time when prophat Muhammad appeared they were perfect. When they became more perfect and more admirable there appeared Mahmud. It is far this reason, it has been preached in a couplet. "Run away from Muhammad and take protection in Mahmud, because, he is receding and the other is proceeding". See: *Dabistan-i-Mazahib,* discourse VIII, p.274.

2. Ibid, p.275.

upon him). They believe that their caliph (living in their times) is a perfect man and call him as the Holy Being.[1]

Nuqtavia Movement from Political and Social Point of View

During the period, when Mughals and Timuris dominated Persia, the people of this soil had been the victim of all sorts of tyrannies, which brought irreparable loss to Persian culture and society. They resulted in the emergence of many movements which challenged these evils and resolved to turn the tide. Among all these the Sarbedaran, Nur Bakhshian, Hurufian and Nuqtavian or Nuqtavis held prominent position. It was generally expected of them that they would confine themselves to a monastic life and busy themselves in saying their prayers and invocation of God in seclusion. But, on the contrary they appeared on the political scene and their strong protests attracted the attention of these appressive rulers.

These movements became so popular and prominent throughout the whole of the 7[th] and 8th centuries A.H. (15th 16th centuries A.D.) that they did not fail to make their impact on Persian literature. Sadi (691 A.H./1291 A.D.) and Hafiz (791 A.H./1388 A.D.) who are considered two eminent poets of Persia were also influenced by these movements, and being the eye witness of these events have admired these sufistic movements in their literary works.

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1. *Nafais ul Arqam,* quoted from the above mentioned article of Dr.Sadiq Kia. ibid. pp.24-25; *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* in three volumes, Asiatic Society Calcutta, 1868 A.D., Vol.II, pp. 258 and 259

Sadi Says:

Qaba bar Qadd-i-Sultanan chunan ziba nemi uftad
Ke an Khalqan-i gardalud bar balaye Darvisan
gar az yak nima shud arad sepah-i-mashriq o maghrib
ze digar nima bas bashad tan-i-tanhaai-darvishan.[1]

A cloak on the body of Sultan does not look so comely as a garb soiled with dust on the body of a darvish. If there comes half of the army of a king from the East and the West, to make a fight, a single darvish is sufficient to meet the challenge of all its soldiers.

Hafiz Says:

Az karan ta be karan lashkar-i-zulm ast wali
az azal ta be abad fursat-i-darvishan ast
ai tavangar mafurush in hama nakhvat ki tura
sar o zar dar kanaf-i-himmat-i-darvishan ast
Ganj-i-Qarun ki furu miravad az Qahr hanuz
Khandah bashi ki ham az ghairat-i-darvishan ast.[2]

There is standing the strong army of tyranny from one corner to the other (of this world), but the opportunity to gain victory is in the hands of darvishes. Oh: you the rich and powerful ones do not be so much haughty and proud. In fact, the real wealth and pride of power lies in courageous arms of darvishes.

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1. *Kulliyat-i Sadi* edited by Abbas Ashtiyani, Ilmi Publication, Tehran, 1371 A.H./1992, p.867.

2. *Lesan ul Ghayb Hafiz Shriazi*, edited by Pezhman Bakhtiyari, p.39,

Croesus being haughty and proud sank in the earth with all his riches but beware, this wealth still is preserved in the courageous hands of darvishes.

Muhammad Iqbal the great thinker of Indian sub-continent, has condemned those sufis who lead detached life from this world and being disheartened in their efforts feel that they are too humble to change their fate and destiny. In a letter to his friend Siraj Uddin Pal, he writes: "Such sufis who show themselves very humble, modest, and detached from this world, have, infact, realized that they are deficient to face the problems of the world and they have accepted their defeat in their struggle to exist in this world."[1]

The Nuqtavia movement of Mahmud Pasikhani was such a movement of Dervishes which to some extent, had been influenced by the ideas and beliefs of Hurufis. Mahmud Pasikhani appeared on the scene in 800 A.H./1397 A.D. and claimed to be Mahdi (a spiritual and temporal messiah expected by Muslims) and incucated this idea in the minds of the people that he had come to establish equity and social justic by uprooting the oppressive powers, so that he could at first attempt, set free the Persians from foreign invaders, i.e., Timur and his successors.

Nuqtavia movement, in fact was one of those movements which aimed at saving Persian culture, one of the ancient and rich cultures of the world, from the impact of foreign invaders, whether they were Arabs or Turks. This spirit is very much evident from the teachings of Nuqtavis. Subsequently one of the Persian poets says:

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1. See: *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal* (collection of the letters of Iqbal) edited by Saiyid Muzaffar Husain Barni, printed by Urdu Academy, Delhi, fourth edition, 1993 A.D., p. 534.

Rasid naubat-i-rindan aqibat Mahmud

guzasht anke Arab tana bar Ajam mizad.

On libertines the time has come for the appearance of Mahmoud. Gone are the days when Arabs mocked at Persians.[1]

Nuqtavis, made more atheistic interpretations than Hurufis, regarding religious matters in order to achieve their purpose. They formed some materialistic symbols for the spiritual world. They made, their followers believe that the Heaven and the Hell exist in this earthly world. The reason seems that, they wanted their disciples to launch a campaign against the tyrant rulers for establishing social equity and justice, with which they could reach heaven in this world. Otherwise, if they surrendered to the cruelties and patiently forbore all the hardships, by sitting idle in seclusion in the hope that the oppressors would be punished for their misdeeds in the other world - they had made Hell for themselves in this world. In other words forbearing the oppression of the oppressors was just like living in the Hell. To reach their aim and object, they had made the "Murakkab-i-Mubayyan" (the absolute exponent) the deity, whom they worshipped with devotion like God Almighty.

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1. The compiler of *Dabistan-i-Mazahi* writes :
"......"Finally since the day of the beginning of the Creation, when there occurred the first appearance of (prophet) Muhammad (the ultimate cause of creation) sixteen thousand years had already passed when the formation of human beings took place, after passing through the process of plant life and then the animal beings. Then, ultimately was the appearance of illustrious man, i.e. Adam. The eight thousand years of the said period was called Arab cycle - the period of happenings on the surface of the earth-while the other half was known as Persian cycle, the period of happenings below the surface of the earth. During the period of Arab cycle there came eight messengers in the span of the time of Persian cycle eight perfect exponents appeared. See discourse VIII, p. 275.

Hurufia movement came into being in 800 A.H./1397 A.D. and had been dynamic upto 831 A.H./1427 A.D., till the day when its founder Fazlullah of Astarabad, having been charged with hereby, was killed by the order of Timur, through his son Miran Shah. The span of these thirty years was considered a period of the propagation of heresy and atheism, in which Fazlullah and his followers were kept under strict watch.

After this event, Ahmad Lur Hurufi, one of the disciples of Fazlullah, tried to perpetuate this mission, but he could not succeed in finding appropriate time and opportunity to carry out his plan, because Shah Rukh, son of Timur, had strictly checked his activities. Therefore, after the murder of Mahmud Fazlullah his supporters spread throughout Persia and gradually started to preach their ideas, by working underground.[1]

Rise of Nuqtavis During Safavid Period in Persia:

When the campaign of the descendants of Shukh Safiuddin led to the formation of the Safavid government founded by Shah Iśmail Safavi, a peculiar type of sectarian prejudice prevailed in Persian society, which was propagated by the founder of this dynasty himself. In that atmosphere any person other than a shiite, and that too the follower of twelve Imams, had no right to speak about his creed, sect or religion. Otherwise, he was made a victim to all sorts of wrath and anger by the monarch, himself a strict follower of that particular sect.

When Shah Ismail I was defeated in the battle field at Chalduran by Ottoman Turks who were in their turn strict followers of the Sunni sect, his dignity as a divine being was shaken in the minds of Qazilbashi chiefs who were

1. For detailed information, see: Khand Mir, *Tarikh-i-Habib us Siyar,* Vol.III, p.615.

used to praising him like a deity and were sincerely devoted to him. The result was that his prejudice against other sects and creeds started to waver. This penetrated so much in the minds of his successors that Shah Ismail II was blamed to be pro-Sunnite.

At the same time in the early days after the accession of Shah Tehmasb I to the throne[1] of Persia, two Qazilbashi tribes, namely Rumlu and Shamlu fell in dispute with each other, as the king had not come of age. On the other side, the Eastern and Western borders[2] of Persia were constantly threatened by Uzbeks and Ottoman Turks.[3] It should be pointed out here that: One of the reasons to transfer the capital of Persia from Tabriz to Qazwin, in the year 963 A.H./1555 A.D. was this war.[4]

In such a political situation inside Persia, political stirrings at Gilan and Azarbayjan provinces were felt. Among them two parties, namely Haidari and Nimati were more prominent than others. This situation also prepared favourable ground for the rise of other political groups against the ruling dynasty.[5]

The motive working behind the rising of Nuqtavia movement was that, like Hurufis they also wanted to revive ancient Persian culture. This has been mentioned above that Safavis gained power with the help Qazilbashid Turks of

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1. Iskandar Beg Munshi Turkman, ***Alam Ara-i-Abbasi,*** Vol.I, p.46.

2. ibid, pp. from 50 to 60.

3. ibid, Vol.I, P.78. Khandgar-i-Rum, marched towards the border of Persia with a huge army. The king of Persia also proceeded with forty thousand brave horse men equipped with spears.

4. For detailed information, see: Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i-abbasi,* pp.110 and 111, and also Rumlu, *Ahsan ut Tawarikh,* Vol.XII, pp.from 564 to 578.

5. Iskandar Beg, Ibid, p.118, and Rumlu, Ibid, pp.587 and 588.

Anatolia. Hence they were deeply influenced by Turkish language and culture and favoured and safeguarded all that was Turkish while Nuqtavis claimed that they were working for the revival of Persian culture. This was the main reason that Safavis and Nuqtavis came into direct conflict with each other.[1]

The important centres of the activities of Nuqtavis, during the Safavi period, were the cities of Natanz, Kashan and Qazvin. A large number of the poets of Natanz and Kashan, particularly the inhabitants of the ward called Fin, followed the tenets that had been laid down by Mahmud Pasikhani. Shah Tahmasb Safavi viewed this situation with concern and attributed it to the weakness of his power and authority. Therefore, he decided to crush them and for that purpose he appointed Amir Khan Muselu, the ruler of Hamadan province.

Regarding this matter the compiler of *Tarikh-i-Alfi* writes under the events of the year 982 A.H./1574 A.D.:

> "...In Iran some of the inhabitants of (the city) Anjudan and the Kashan district, were charged with being united with the man called Murad who claimed to be the Imam, and a number of the people of this region followed Mahmud Pasikhani, who had declared himself to be a prophet. The king of Iran appointed Amir Khan Muselu ruler of Hamadan and sent him to Anjedan, via Hamadan. Badi ul Zaman, father of the compiler of this text was appointed at

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1. Nuqtaviys, in their discourses, on metempsychosis used to say that Turks in their preceding cycle of life were Qazilbashi dogs. Their curved tails became their swords, which fully understood Turkish language. It was on account of that when some one said, CHEKH it would come out of the Sheath, because the meanings of the word "CHEKH" in Turkish are: "Come out" See: *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, discourse VIII, p.276.

> Kashan. Troops of both proceeded to attack.. some of the people were arrested and were sent to the (royal) court. Murad, who was a smart handsome youth was imprisoned in the royal palace. A large number of his followers were murdered. the property recovered from the members of that class was deposited with (royal) treasury."[1]

Shah Tehmasb too continuing his measures against Nuqtavia movement imprisoned another group of people, including the poet Hayati of Kashan, who was charged to be the follower of this order. He also blinded Abul Qasim Amri[2] a poet and scholar from Isfahan, blaming him to be a member of this movement, in spite of that the was reputed to be an influential person at the royal court.

This harsh attitude of Shah Tahmasb to the followers of this order made their lives miserable[3] and they were almost immobilised. This inhuman treatment of these people continued till his death following which there rose internal differences among his successors and this gave an opportunity to the

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1. Extracted from the book, entitled *"Zindagani-i-Shah Abbas I* (Life of Shah Abbas I), by Nasrullah Falsafi, Ilmi Publication, Tehran, 1358 A.H./1979 A.D., Vol. III, p. 907.

2. Amri, after he was blinded by the order of Shah Tahmasb, composed the following quatrain and sent it to the king : Shah Tahmasb,

   Shaha! ze libas-i-nur uram kardi
   Shaha! az khud bejaur duram Kardi.
   Si sal ki mddah-i-tu budam shab-o-rauz
   in jazaam bud ki kuram kardi.

3. Another poet of that period also expressed the ideology of Nuqtav movement in the following quatrain:
   Bar safha-i-arzou khatt-i-nisyan kash
   Ney wasl talab namahnat-i-hijran kash
   Khahi ki kas angusht be harf nanihed
   binshin-o-chu nuqta pai dar daman kash
   See: Amin Ahmad Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, edited by Jawad Faze, Tehran, Vol.II, p.478.

followers of this order for the propagation of their ideology. But, again two years there after rose a dispute in 994 A.H./1585 A.D. before the accession of Abbas I to the throne of Persia between the supporters of Shah Muhammad (Sultan Muhammad Khuda Banda), the father of Shah Abbas and Valijan Khan Turkman, the ruler of Kashan. As this conflict had taken place in the vicinity of Natanz, therefore many followers of Nuqtavia order were killed, including Afazal, who played on two stringed instrument and Mir Bighani, one of the leaders of this sect.

Draw the line of cancellation on the page of your ambitions. Neither be desirous of meeting nor suffer the hardship of departing.

If you wish that nobody should put finger on your Harf (letter), Sit (in seclusion) and fold your legs under your shirt, like a Nuqta (dot)

The above quatrain refers to the Hurufil and Nuqtavia movements. This shows how the members of these movements were crushed and had been oppressed so much that they had turned from letter to dot. It also rejects the idea of winding up their activities and had gone underground.

Nuqtavis from the point of view of Shah Abbas I and Mughal Emperor Akbar

The campaign against the ideas of Hurufis and Nuqtavis had started since the time of Timur. But, during Safavid period these movements had assumed the shape of such knotty problems as were spoiling the whole Persian society and hence full attention was paid to annihilate these movements.

The main cause of the differences between Safavis and these movements was that the exponents of these movements interpreted the verses of glorious

Quran according to their own way of thinking and on account of that they were expelled from Persia but were given refuge in Hindustan by Mughal emperor, Akbar. Their migration to this region needs to be reviewed from religious and political point of view.

Here, we are not going to discuss how far Safavids were observing the rules and regulations of Islamic faith and culture but, the consequence of this heretic sect during Safavid period brings the question in mind how far Safavid were legitimate rulers so for as Islamic faith and belief were concerned.[1]

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1. The religious practices, regarding Safavis have been discussed under cultural section of this treatise.

Safavis, who claimed to be Saiyid,[1] descendant of Ali,[2] deputed to strengthen Shiite sect (the follower of twelve Imams) and posed them to be the vicegerent of twelfth Imam,[3] could not tolerate that any follower of Mahmud Pasikhan should declare him the twelfth Imam and the saviour of the world. It

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1. Though, many historians have traced the genealogy of Safavids upto Imam Musa Kazim, the seventh descendent of Ali s/o Abou Talib, whose descendants are entitled "Saiyid" (the leader) in Iran, Afghanistan and Indian Sub-continent. But the modern research that has been done in this regard reveal that all such attributions are fictitious. Because, Sheikh Safi and all his descendants were addressed with the title of "Sheikh" (chieftain, a venerable person but not belonging to the holy family of the prophet) and it was for this reason that Shah Ismail the founder of Safavi dynasty was called Sheikh Ougholi the son of a Sheikh, (See:*Alam Ara-i-Safavi,* edited by: Yadullah Shukri Publication of Bunyad-i-Farhangi-i-Iran, Tehran, 1350 A.H./1971 A.D., p.49).

   Hamdullah Mustofawi, the author of ***Nuzhat ul Qulub*** (the fragrance of the hearts), compiled his work in 740 A.H./1339 A.D. five years after the death of Sheikh Safi. He is not only unclear about the genealogy of Sheikh Safi, but regarding his creed, he writes that most of the people of Ardbil belong to the Shafa'yi school and are disciples of Sheikh Safiuddin. This is also interesting and worth mentioning that the letter that Obaidullah Khan Uzbak wrote to Shah Tahmasb, I, in 936 A.H. (1539 A.D.) clearly mentioned that Sheikh Safi belonged to Sunni sect (See: ***Shah Tahmasb Safavi*** by Abdul Husain Nawaii, Arghawan publication, Tehran, 1368 A.H./1989 A.D., p.33), Though, Shah Tahmasb I, claimed to be of Shiite sect and was devoted to twelve Imams, he does not deny that his ancestors belonged to Sunnite sect and gives reply in these words:" It should not be concealed that some of his ancestors, for a while followed the false creed (the sunnite sect) and polluted the pages of their hearts with the absurd beliefs", but this argument cannot be a reliable documentation. (See: *Shah Tahmasb Safavi* by Abdul *Husain Nawai,* Ibid, p.37).

2. In The letter that Shah Ismail wrote to Shaybak Khan Uzbak in the year 915 A.H. (1509 A.D.) he has pointed out that he was the descendent of Ali son of Abu Talib and quoted this line that, "who ever disputed with the descendants of Ali, he was ruined". He has also written four times "I seek the support of Ali". While paying his tribute to Ali, he also wrote this Persian verse:
   If there is any Imam from the East to the West, he is Ali and (after him) any of his descendants, this is sufficient for us.
   He also wrote a verse in Turkish and claimed to be the descendent of Ali

   (My mother was Fatima and my father was Ali, I am their heir). He used *Khatai* as his noma de plume in his poems, and says:

   (Khatai is the slave of the descendants of Ali. I am disciple and the servant of Qanbar, the slave of Ali), See: *Silsilat un Nasab* by Sheikh Husain Pirzadah Zahedi, p.72.

3. In Iran a number of people lived at Andjan and Rastaq and assembled under the banner of Murid, who claimed to be Imam. At the same time those who followed Mahmoud Pasikhani and believed him to be prophet were charged guilty. See: *Tarikh-i-Alfi,* events of the year 982 A.H. Extract from *Zindigani-i-Shah Abbas,* Vol.III, p. 907.

was on account of this, that they became strong enemies of Nuqtavis, and to protect the true religion (the Shiite sect) from heresy. But, in fact, this enmity was a sort of political campaign against them.

As it has already been mentioned elsewhere in the early days of Shah Abbas I's reign he had realized that the main hindrance in the way of the preceding rulers of his dynasty was their inability to have absolute power in their hands at the time when Persia was passing through chaotic political conditions. The Mughal emperor Akbar had already ruled more than three decades over Hindustan and the situation of law and order in his realm was better than it was in Persia.

Shah Abbas I, removed from his way the influential Qazilbshi nobles in order to establish his absolute power.

This is quite evident here that Shah Abbas could resort to every means to remove his opponents from the scene. By his conduct, it also can be imagined how cruelly he would have crushed the members of Hurufi movement. This is also worth mentioning here, that Nuqtavis, like Hurufis could use all fair and unfair means for their political ends and approach by hook or crook the powerful persons of their time. They lured them by their ideas and meddled with the affairs of the state.

Just as Fazlullah Hurufi had put forward his sectarian ideas before Timur, had even enchanted his son Miran Shah, and both, in the beginning, did not have any bad opinion, in the same manner, Nuqtavis too offered their ideas to Shah Abbas I. At the early stage their relations were quite normal. But, soon, Shah Abbas realized that they were expanding their influence all over the country and that there was much possibility that they would pose a challenge to

his authority, as they were using the tenets of Islam as their instrument and were interpreting them in their own way with the intention of extending their political power.

When their plot was disclosed to Shah Abbas, he opposed them very strongly. Some of the clergy present at the court enjoying the position of "Sadr"[1] (the chief justice) and "Sheikh ul Islam (the highest religious authority in Islam) strongly supported the view of the Shah. They played an important role in condemning the beliefs of Nuqtavis and crushing their movement. They took the same action against them, as had already been taken by Timur, when the theologians of Samarqand had issued the decree to the effect that Hurufis be executed.[2]

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1. This position also existed during the reign of Timurid and Turkman dynasties. During Safavis period this institution was founded by Shah Ismail. In the beginning this office was given to such an established jurist to whom all religious matters were referred. In later periods it became an official post and a *"Sadr"* had also to look after some administrative jobs, particularly religious endowments, judicial matters and social affairs. For the position of *Sadr,* see *Travel accounts of Tavernir,* translated into Persian, by Abu Turab Nuri published by Kitab Khana-i-Sinaii (Sinaii publishing house) Isfahan (Iran) p. 588, *Safarnama-i-Sansoon,* translated into Persian by Dr.Tafazzoli, Tehran 1364 A.H. (1985 A.D.) p.38, *Siyahat Nama-i-Shardin* (Voyages de chardin) Translated into Persian by Muhammad Abbasi, Vol.VIII, Amir Kabri publishers, Tehran, 1354 A.H. (1966 A.D) p.406 and *Safar Nama-i-Kamofer* (Engelbert Kampfer) translated into Persian by KayKaous Jahandari, Kharazmi publishers, Tehran, 1363 A.H. (1948 A.D.), p.142.

2. *Sheikh ul Islam,* like *Sadr,* was an important religious position during Safavid period. This title was given in Ottoman empire to a jurist of the highest degree. Shah Abbas also introduced it at his court. Muhaqqiq Kurki was the first man on whom this title was bestowed. Formerly a *Sadr* was considered the highest person in clergy class, who dealt with all the religious matters. But, when Muhaqqiq Korki took the charge of his office, a *Sadr* was considered next to him. For detailed information, See: 1) *Ahsan ut Tawarikh,* edited by Norman Syden. published by Kitab Khana-i-Sadr (Sadr publishers) 1347 A.H. (1968 A.D.) p.454.
(2) *Mahafil ul Mumi'min,* Ms.No. 6578, Kitab Khana-i-Astan-i-Quds, fol. 102 and forward.
(3) Kampfer, Ibid, p.124. Tavernier, Ibid, p.588, Sanson, Ibid, p.42. *Tazkarat ul Mulouk* by Mirza Samia, edityed by Muhammad Dabir Siyaqi, Tehran, 1332 A.H./1953 A.D., p.3. and ***Tazkerah-i-Shah Tahmasb.*** by Shah Tahmasb Safavi, edited by Abdul Shakur, Berlin, Iranshahr, 1343 A.H./1964 A.D., p.16.

On this plea, Shah Abbas in 999 A.H./1590 A.D. the fourth year of his reign issued the order for the execution of Abul Qasim Amri, who had already been blinded by Shah Tehmasb, for supporting the Nuqtavias ideology. As he had revolted with the help of his disciples at Shiraz, Boyad Khan the ruler of Fars province arrested and imprisoned him. Taking into view the judgement passed by the clergy of Shiraz, declaring him infidel, he deserved execution. As they had also excited the people of the city to kill him, he was torn to pieces in the prison house with kitchen blade and pen knife.

In the same manner, by the order of Shah Abbas, Darvish Khusrau was choaked to death (by putting noose round his neck) in 1001 A.H./1592 A.D. at Qazvin, because since the time of Shah Tahmasb he was propagating Nuqtavia ideas. A number of his disciplies, like Yusufi Tarkash doz (the quiver maker) were also executed. Mir Saiyid Kashi, known as Pir Ahmad, one of the leaders of that sect was cut into two pieces by Shah Abbas with his own sword at Nasr Abad, Kashan[1] (town). Maulana Sulaiman Sauji was also killed, being charged with being a follower of Nuqtavi sect.

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1. When Pir Ahmad was produced before the king, he was threatened to be killed if he did not report. But he replied, that he was not afraid of death. Because he believed that he would be incarnated very soon in a better form than the present. Earlier he several times came in this world and went back, headed. About three hundred twenty years before he appeared in the form of a handsome youth who was a very good scribe, people took his writings hand to hand as a sacred gift. By chance he saw one of his writings some time before and recognized immediately that it was written by him he concluded. At this the king drew the sword from the sheath and beheaded him. ;Second time he struck on his back and cut it into two. For detailed information, See: *Naqavat ul Asar fi Zekr el Akhyar* by Mahmud Hidayat Ullah of Natanz, edited by Dr.Ehsan Ishraqi, II edition, Tehran, 1373 A.H./1994 A.D. pp. 525 and 526.

In 1010 A.H./1601 A.D. Shah Abbas made a foot journey from Isfahan to Mashhad with many of his disciples, Darvish Kamal eqlidi and Dervish Turab[1] also accompanied him. As the king had suspected that they were Nuqtavis, therefore, he killed all of them with the bullets of his gun at Qusha Caravan Serai.

The author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* has written that the reason for killing the two above mentioned dervishes was that they believed that Shah Abbas was also a follower of Nuqtavi sect, as he had learned from them all the secret teaching of the creed formed by Mahmud Pasi Khani. As Shah Abbas did not want to reveal that he believed in Nuqtavi sect therefore, thought it wise to kill them.

Taking in view the harsh treatment that Shah Abbas had meted out to Nuqtavis, this charge seems to be baseless. Because, his characteristic conduct was to be kind to the followers of this sect, get to know their beliefs and ideas, and then annihilate them as he did earlier with Dervish Khusrau and his disciple Yusufi Tarkashdoz[2]

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1. Fani, *Dabestan-i-Mazaheb*, Vol.II, pp. 277 and 278.

2. In those days when Shah Abbas had maintained very close relations with Khusrau Darvish and Yusufi Tarkashdoz in order to know about their secret designs, there appeared a comet. Mulla Jalal the royal astrologer and the other experts told the Shah that they believed the appearance of this comet indicated either some tremendous change in the country or the death of any one the great kings of the time. When the Shah summoned Yusufi Tarkashdoz, he also confirmed it and said that, "The appearance of this comet shows that a great change will take place in the pillars of the state, and one of the Darvishes of our sect would reach from spiritual kingship to the physical rulership. At this Abbas said, "who is in your sect, more deserving than you for kingship, so that I may make him to sit on the throne and the effect of this comet may prove your prediction." At this the king ordered his courtiers to give him royal dress, put crown on his head, fasten ornamented sword to his waist and make him sit on the throne with all the proper royal etiquettes. All the nobles and courtiers gave him full honour. In this way he ruled for three days, from Thursday to Sunday (7th to 10th Zilqadah 1001-27th to 30th August 1592 A.D.) On the last day he was hanged and shot dead. After that Shah Abbas, again sat on the throne on the advice of the royal astrologers. For further detail about Khusrau Dervish and Yusufi Tarkashdoz, See:*Naqavat ul Asar*, pp.515-524.

Shah Abbas, even killed in the year 1020 A.H./1611 A.D. Mulla Ayaz Munajjim (the astrologer) who was well versed in poetry, astronomy, astrology and geometry. He was charged that he was also skilled in numerology and necromancy. In this way he removed all those persons from his way, who were even doubted to be the followers of Nuqtavi sect. But among them Mullah Baqir Khurda[1] succeeded in saving his life. He was the student of Mir Mui'z Uddin and had learnt from him the Nasta'liq style of Persian calligraphy and got such mastery on this style that he was renowned as Mir Moi'z II. When Shah Abbas asked him why he became guilty of mixing himself with the people of this sect? He replied that among the members of this ill fated group was a handsome youth[2] who infatuated him by his fascinating gestures. Ultimately his passions over powered his patience and he could not resist to control himself.

Besides, as he did not know about their irrational conduct, as apparently they did not say any thing contrary to Islamic faith therefore he plunged in this dangerous situation (being fascinated by that charming youth). The king accepted his excuse and gave him in the charge of Farhad Khan Rukn ul Sultan (the pillar of the empire) the chief calligrapher of the imperial court. Finally, in the year 1006 A.H./1597 A.D., he made the journey to the Deccan (South India) and joined the service of Ibrahim Adil Shah (988-1035 A.H./1580-1625 A.D) the ruler of Bijapur and was honoured with the rank of Librarian.[3]

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1. About the life of Mulla Baqir Khurda and his teacher Mir Moe'z, see *Maasir-i Rahimi*, by Mulla Abdul Baqi Nahavandi, edited by Muhammad Hedayat Husain, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1925 A.D., Vol.II, pp.792-797, Hidayat Ullah, *Naqavat ul Asar*, pp.536 and 537.

2. He was son of Saiyid Ahmad Kashi Noqtavi, Mulla Baqir Khurda was his fan.

3. The men of letters who migrated from Persia to the Indian Sub continent, will be dealt with in the chapter six.

During the reign of Shah Abbas the environment in Persia was quite suffocating for Nuqtavis, sufis and the Muslims of Sunnite sect. But on the contrary, at the same period, Hindustan under the sovereignty of Akbar was a peaceful country where atmosphere was completely favourable for literary and religious activities. As compared to Safavid and Ottoman rulers this Mughal emperor was much above the racial, religious and sectarian prejudices. He condemned the wars fought between Muslims of Sunnite and shiite sects, disapproved of homicide, disliked plundering and hated the campaigns made by Safavi and Ottoman Kings, in the guise of holy wars against Georgian and Balkanian christians. He liked Muslims and non-Muslims like and treated all of them compassionately. In fact, he did not discriminate his Muslim subject against his Hindu subjects. He established matrimonial relation with Rajput rulers and appointed many Hendu army officers on very high posts. Consequently, when he came to know that Shah Abbas was brutally killing the nobles of his court, chiefs of Qazilbashid tribe and a number Nuqtavis, he wrote to him a letter, at the request of Abul Fazl Allāmi, the son of Sheikh Mubarak of Nagor who was one of the renowned nobles of his court.

In the letter which Akbar wrote to Shah Abbas he advised him to avoid torturing and killing the people on the pretext of religious and sectarian differences and implicitly condemned him on the massacre of Nuqtavis in this way:

"....full attention should be paid to look after the secrets and the affairs of these people. This authority, that has passed from hand to hand and this power granted transitorily, be wielded to please God, Almighty and seek His help in this regard. The (different) classes of people, who are the deposits of the treasure houses of the religions, be treated favourably and their hearts be joined with friendship. Knowing (the fact) that the people of all religions and sects share the general divine blessing and therefore efforts should be made to enter the everlasting garden of universal tolerance and always study should be made with the object to increase the authority; because God, Almighty nourishes all His created beings of different creeds, varied colours and conditions by opening the gates of His bounty upon them. Hence, it is the responsibility of the Sultans of exalted dignity being the shadow of Divinity, that they should not cede this conduct, for the simple reason that God, the creator of the universe has made this class of high origin to maintain discipline among the different classes of the people and guard the interest of all the common human beings of the world."

About the followers of different religions he particularly wrote what:

> "When human beings in the matters of the world which are passing and transitory, do not make mistake intentionally, how can they be indulgent to carelessness in the affairs of religion, which is permanent and everlasting. Hence, all groups of the people are not beyond two classes. Either they are on right path - in that case they are following the right way and therefore, there is no alternative, except to follow them - or they are suffering from the disease of ignorance, therefore, deserve favour and compassion, but not reproach and punishment."[1]

Akbar by his conduct showed that he was above religious prejudice and fanaticism, but, Abul Fazl, his minister secretary was charged to be the follower of Nuqtavi thoughts. The way in which he shielded the cause of the followers of this sect, helped to penetrate their ideas in the royal court. A number of the followers of this sect were received at Mughal court. This evidently shows that many of the courtiers had been influenced by the philosophy of this sect. Relevant to this matter Iskandar Beg Munshi Turkman writes about Abul Fazl that :

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1. Abulfazl Allami, *Mukatibat-i Allami*, Munshi Naval Kishore, Lucknow, pp.26-33.

> Sheikh Abul Fazl was one the men of high learning and good talent in the country of Hund (Hindustan). He was in the service of Jalal Uddin Akbar, the king of exalted dignity. Being close to him he got high respect. He was the follower of this sect (Nuqtavi) and led the king astray from the right path of the Islamic law by his absurd discourses and liberalism. The mandate that he had written and sent to Saiyid Mir Ahmad Kashi, was found in his treatises and it reflects his ideas.[1]

Mullah Abdul Qadir Badauni is of the opinion that the tradition of prostrating before the king was the result of metempsychotic or Nuqtavi thoughts that had penetrated in the court. In this regard he writes under the title of *"Zamin bus"* (kissing the ground) that,

> "...they make farfetched interpretations of the explicit texts of the *Holy Quran* and the statements of the Prophet (peace be upon him). They consider that the caliph of the time is perfect man. They interpreted him as the exact Holy Being but, not His shadow - and talked superstitiously about him. They recommended prostration before him and termed it as Zamin Bus. To observe full regard for the king was obligatory for them. They made others believe that the countenance of the king is the ultimate goal for the fulfillment of all ambitions and desires.

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1. *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, accounts of the seventh year of the reign of Shah Abbas I, p. 212.

This kind of interpretations became so popular at the court of Akbar[1] that even keeping the fire alight, which is one of the traditions of Zoroastrians was considered the symbol of Divine manifestations in the form of illumination. About this Badauni writes:[2]

> The fire worshippers who had come from the newly built city of Gujrat province, considered the creed of Zoroaster as the true religion and paying reverence to fire is an important worship for them. They attracted the attention (of the king) towards them and made (him) acquainted with the ways and conduct of the (kings of) Kiyanid dynasty. At this his imperial Majesty ordered that the fire should be kept alight day night under the supervision of Sheikh Abul Fazl, according to the custom of the kings of Persia. Because, the fire is one of the manifestations of God and the symbol of Divine illumination.

This concept which has been named Mazhariyat (manifestation) is one of the beliefs of the Muslims of Ismaili sect, who greatly influenced the followers of Nuqtavi sect.

In the letter that Akbar wrote to Shah Abbas he pointed out that "the kings are the shadows of God" evidently shows that he also considered him as the manifestation of Divine light.

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1. Though prostration before the king was part of court etiquette during Sasanid period (224-652 A.D.) in Persia, Mughal ruler Akbar, like Safavid kings revived many Persian traditions of Sasanid period, including prostration. But, this tradition is quite contrary to Islamic faith, therefore, was termed as "kissing the ground", to appease those nobles and the rulers who had firm belief in Islamic faith and interpreted it in this way.

2. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol. II, pp.258-259.

Maulana Fitrati, the poet who was at the court of Akbar, writes in a verse that the emperor, in the manner of Hindus sometimes paid reverence to the sun; as he says:

Qismat Nigar ki dar khur-i-har jud-o-har atast.

Aina ba Sikandar-o-ba Akbar aftab.[1]

(This is the (chance of) luck, that every one gets the same reward for which he deserves. (This is the reason that), Alexander was given (merely) a mirror, while the sun came in the court of Akbar).[2]

This is a well known historical fact that Akbar was very broad minded in his view and all sorts of religious fanaticism. It was the result of his liberal ideas that he was able to establish a new creed, called *Din-i-Ilahi* (a divine religion). This liberalism in his ideas and thoughts provided an opportunity to the followers of Nuqtavi faith that a number of them migrated to his court, because, they knew that there they would be received warmly and get full protection under royal patronage. Some of the poets and writers believing in Nuqtavi tenets, migrated from Persia to seek refuge at his court were:

Mir Ali Akbar Tashbihi, Mir Haidar Zehni Kashani, Hayati Kashani, Hakim Ibadullah Kashani, Muhammad Baqir Khurda-i-Kashani, Mir Sharif Amuli, Abdul Qani Yazdi and Javid-i-Qazvini, etc.[3]

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1. *Za'faranzar-i Kashmir,* M.S. (a collection of the account of the poets of Kashmir) fol.33.

2. Badauni, Ibid, p.259.

3. Accounts of the poets and prose writers would be dealt with under the migration of the poets and other men of letters, in chapter six.

Nurbakhshi Movement

The Sufis living during the ninth century of Islamic era, having been inspired by the dynamic ideology of the Muslims of Shiite sect, started a movement called the Nurbakshia order. This movement was directed against the oppressive acts of Shah rukh Mirza, son and succesor of Timur.[1]

The sufis of this order were greatly influenced by the mystic philosophy of Muhi Oddin ibn ul Arabi (d.638 A.H/1240 A.D.), known as Tariqat-i-Akbaria (Akbari order). Unlike the Hurufis and the Nuqtavis, they believed, like all the Muslims, in Resurrection. They also held that belief in Shiite ideology alone was one of the prerequisites of mysticism. In order to demonstrate their faith in Shiaism they were dressed in black, a sign of mourning for the martyrdom of Husain.[2]

The Founder of Nur Bakhshi Order

This mystic order was founded by Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh (795-869 A.H./1392-1464 A.D.) of Qayin, a town in Khurasan province.[3] He was the son of Muhammad Ibn-i-Abdullah Qutaifi Lahsavi and the seventeenth descendent, of Imam Musa Kazim, the seventh Imam of the Muslims of Shiite sect. After paying visit and homage to Imam Reza, the eighth Imam of shiite Muslims, he settled down at Qayn and married there. Saiyid Muhammad was

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1. *Muhi Uddin Arabi* by Dr. Mohsin Jahangiri, University of Tehran publication, 2nd edition, 1361 A.H./1982 A.D., pp. 451-452.

2. *Majalis ul Muminin* by Qazi Nurullah Shustari, published at Islamic book Centrer, Kitabfarushi-i-Islami) Tehran, 1376 A.H/1997 A.D., p.307.

3. *Qutaif* is a port in Bahrain, where the father of Nurbakhsh was born.

born at that town in 795 A.H./1392 A.D.[1] At the age of seven he memorized all the thirty chapters of the Glorious *Quran*, studied traditional sciences at Hella under the guidance of Ahmad Ibn-i-Fahad of Hella and in a very short period mastered the various branches of practical and traditional sciences. Among his literary works are some treatises, namely *Makatib Nur bakhsh, Risala-i-Nurya, Selsel t-uz-Zahab* and *Alfigh ul Ahvat*.[2] Besides, he has also left behind a poetical collection, consisting of qasidas (elegies), ghazals (odes) and Rubaiyyat (quatrains) etc.[3]

On completing his education, Saiyid Muhammad felt much attraction for monastic life. He met Khwaja Ishaq Khatalani, who was a student and disciple of Saiyid Ali of Hamadan, (b.714 A.H./1314 A.D) the most renowned saint of the eighth century of Islamic era (14th Century of Christian era), who, being tired of the oppressions of Timur, migrated from Hamadan to Kashmir with seven hundred Saiyids (the descendants of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), who were his followers.[4]

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1. *Lahsa* is situated in the West of the Persian Gulf and in the East of the Arabian peninsula. The grand-father of Nur Bakhsh was born there.

2. Qazi Nurrullah Shushtrai, *Majalis ul Muminin*, Islami Publication, Tehran, 1376 A.H./1998 A.D, p.143.

3. For detailed account of Nurbakhsh and his works, See: I. *Tahqiq dar Ahval Wa Asar-i Saiyid Nur Bakhsh Qahastani* (Studies about Saiyid Nur Bakhsh owaise of Qahastan) by Dr. Ja'far Sidqiyanlou, published in Tehran, 1351 A.H. (1972 A.D.) pp.71 and 195.

   II. *Dunbala-i-Justujou dar Tasawwouf-i-Iran* pp. 176-178.

4. For further information see, the article "*Az Hamadan ta Kashmir* (from Hamadan to Kashmir) by Ali Asghar Hikmat, the monthly journal "*Armaghan*", year 1330 A.H. (1951 A.D.), issue VIII, pp.337-343.

Khwaja Ishaq, having observed his (Saiyid Muhammad) enthusiasm and promise as young man, took upon himself to train and tutor him in the sufistic way of living. He put on him the cloak of Saiyid Ali Hamadani and asked him to take his own seat and guide the people living in the monastery. He also gave the management of the monastery to his charge. Saiyid Muhammad was usually called Anwar (the lights), but when he became the disciple of Khwaja Ishaq he was entitled by him Nur Bakhsh (Bestower of Divine Light), as he was instructed by an unseen power in his dream.[1]

Nur Bakhshi Movement: Socio-political point of view

The tyrannical rule of Amir Timur Kurkan brought about rapid social, political and particularly cultural deterioration in Persian society which prepared the ground for the organisation of Socio-political movements in the guise of religious reforms. One of them was Nur Bakhshi movement, which derived

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1. The *Razat ul Janan-o-Jannat ul Jenan* (the gardens of Paradise) records the event that when Saiyid Muhammad Joined the discipleship of Khwaja Ishaq, there was a man *Khaliq* who was very much devoted to Saiyid Muhammad. He saw in a dream that Divine light had descended in his private chamber, from where it penetrted into the private chambers of others. He spoke out this dream to Ishaq, who gave the title of Nur Bakhsh to Saiyid Muhammad. See: *Rauzat ul Jenan* by Hafiz Husain Karbalai, edited by Ja'far Sultan Alqarayi published by Bungah-i-Tarjuma-o Nashr-i-kitab, Tehran, 1344 A.H. (1965 A.D.), Vol.II, p.249.

   Furthermore, Saiyid Muhammad himself writes regarding this title in his treatise, *Selselat ul zahab* (chain of gold) "oh my dear, when the True Lord bestows the guidance of the people of the world (upon some person) - after his annihilation in Him to the state of reaching eternity - He from His perfact domain grants to every person according to his capability, from some divine illumination and calls him either *Nurdan* (Holder of the illumination) or *Nur bin* (the Seer of the illumination) or *Nourbakhsh* (bestower of illumination).

   See: *Resala-i-Selselat ul Zahab*, Manuscript collection No.3497/20, Central Library of the University of Tehran, p.10.

inspiration, like the Hurufis and the Baktashis, from the revolutionary ideas of the shiite Muslims to resist what they perceived was the oppressive conduct of Timurid rulers.

The chief organizer of this political movement was Khwaja Ishaq Khatalani. As a justification for his cause, brought to the scene Nour Baksh and presented him as Mahdi. He swore his allegiance to Saiyid Muhammad and also asked his disciples to pledge their loyality to him. In this way he encouraged Saiyid Muhammad to revolt against Shahrukh, son of Timur.[1]

The Mosles, as article of faith believe that the Mahdi will appear as a reformer. He will be born in the holy family of prophet Muhammad, he will work for the Salvationof all human being but, on the coutrasy. Saiyid Muhammad poses himself as Mahdi to attract the people to make his movement successful, thus he violated the Islamic principles. One of the objects of his movement like other politico-religious movements (e.g. the Hurufi and the Nuqtavi movements) was to fight against tyrannical rulers to eradicate all social evils, and this was possible, at that time only when one poses oneslef as Mahdi. This, too was the reaction of the measures which were taken by Amir Timur, who plundered the countries in the name of holy war and declared himself the

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1. Among the disciples of Khwaja Ishaq one was Saiyid Abdollah, a native of Borzesh Abad town. He did not promise his loyality to Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh. In this way, in the mystics of Kubraveya order there came another branch into being which was *Zahabia*, which consisted of the followers of Abdullah of Borzesh Abad. But in spite of that, the Sufis of Kubraveya order, who followed Nur Bakhsh were called Nurya, *Nour Bakhshiya* as well as *Zahabiya* See: *Bostan ul Seyahat*, by Zain ul Abidin Shirvani, Kitab Khana-i-Sinai (Sinai publishing house), Ist eidition, Tehran, 1315 A.H, p.322. and Zarrin koub, Ibid, pp. 182 and 183.

restorer of the Islamic faith and the reformer of that religion. In spite of resorting to his opprssive misdeeds he was confident of his authority.[1]

In the beginning, Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh did not consent to shoulder this heavy responsibility. Because he realized that he would not be able to stand against Shah Roukh, who was dominating Persia. Turkistan, Hindustan and Syria. But, the persistent requests of Khwaja Ishaq and his disciples forced him to accept the offer.[2]

About the uprising of Nur Baksh against Shah Rukh, Qazi Nour Ullah of Shustar writes:

> ".... as Khwaja (Ishaq belonged to shiite sect, he did not like the domination of the rulers of Sunni sect, particularly of Shahrukh.[3] After getting acquainted with Nur Bakhsh, the sympathy with religion and devotion to the family of the prophet Muhammad (peace be

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1. This refers to the verse of Glorious *Quran*, that says:

   O ye who believe

   Obey God, and Obey the Apostle,

   And those charged

   with authority among you.

   See: *Sura Nisa*, verse 59.

2. *Majalis ul Mu'minin*, p.304.

3. He came to Hindustan in the year 992 A.H./1585 A.D. during the reign of the Mughal ruler Akbar, for preaching Shiite theology. He was appointed chief justice of Lahore and remained on this position throughout his reign.

upon him) compelled him to take measures like the preceding leader who had revolted against the Abbasi Ultimately, he persuaded Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, declared him Mahdi and called him Imam."[1]

Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh went to one of the forts of Khatalan, in the year 826 A.H./1422 A.D., with some of his disciples so that he might make preprations to fight against Shah Rukh. There he invited the people to join him in his campaign. As a result of this confrontation Khwaja Ishaq was killed along with his brother and he was exiled to Fars province after being arrested at Herat.

At that time, Sultan Ibrahim, son of Shahrukh, was the ruler of Fars province, who did not imprison him for certain diplomatic reasons and set him free. His release from the prison prepared the ground for his renewed political activities and declared him self the restorar of the Caliphate. From there he went to Kurdistan province and to the regions of Bakhtiyari tribes settlements, where he enrolled his disciples in a very large number. There, not only common men, but even influential local rulers too, accepted his supremacy and made him their king, his coins were struck and issued and Khutba was read in his name. When these events were going on, Shahrukh was in Azarbyjan province. He ordered his arrest and that he be brought to the royal camp. Shahrukh had designs for his murder, but he succeeded in escaping from there, only to be arrested again. This time he was confined in an underground cell from where he ws sent to Heyat as captive.

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1. Shushtari, Ibid, p.147.

At this Shahrukh compelled him to go on to the pulpit on Friday and from there declare, before the afternoon prayer, that he was forgoing his claim to caliphate. Finally, in the month he his claim to caliphate. Finally, in the month of Jamadi ul Awwal 840 A.H./Nov. 1436 A.D. fetters were removed from his feet on the condition that he would not give lectures on traditional sciences, lest people gather around him in large numbers and avoid the use of black turban.[1] But, in spite of all these restrictions he continued his political activities and made things reach an extent that Shahrukh again ordered that he be taken to Tabriz and from there be exiled to the Ottoman Empire. This time too be succeeded in escaping and went towards Shirvan and Gilan provinces. There also he collected disciples in large numbers.

Finally, after the death of Shahrukh (850 A.H/1446 A.D.) he went to Rey and continued, as usual, his politico-religious activities with more energy and enthusiasm. At last, he died in 869 A.H./1464 A.D. at Sulaqan, a town situated

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1. It is the tradition of the Persians that the Saiyids, always use black turban.

near present Tehran and was buried there in the garden that he had planted himself.[1]

After the death of Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, his son Shah Qasim Faiz Bakhsh was declared his successor. But, in his time this movement lost its vigour. Even his claim to be Mahdi, the reformer of the world, ws buried in oblivion and finally the situation reached an extent that his descendents did not like even to hear of this subject. Later, this matter became so serious that Shams Uddin Muhammad Lahiji, the disciple of Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh and the compiler of *Sharh-i-Gulshan-i-raz* (the commentary on Gulshan-i-raz or the garden of mystic secrets, a poem on mystic thoughts) refused to accept the authority of this claim. After the death of Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, he, therefore went to Shiraz from Ray and there he established his own mystic order for the guidance of the people. There, he attracted disciples in a very large

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1. The chronogram of his death was versified in the following lines:

Aftab-i auj-i Danish Nur-i Chashm-i ahl-i-din
Nur Bakhsh-i-Jism-o-Jan an Qahrman-i-Ma-o-Tin
Sal-i-Omrash bud haftadose-o-Wafat
Hashtsad shasto noh-o-Mahash rabiul Awwalain
Chardah zan mah rafteh Panjshanbah Chashtagah
Dargozsht za alam-e-Homam-ul-Alamin

(The sun of the zenith of learning, the eyesight of the followers of relgion.

The illumination given to the body and soul, the champion on the earth, made of water and clay. He was seventy three years old at the time of his death. The year was eight hundred sixty nine, and the month Rabi ul Awwal, when he migrated from this mortal world to the world of champions. He expired on Tuesday, the 14th of the month at midday.

For further information, regarding his hardships at the hands of Shah Rukh and the good pieces of advice that he left for him to his disciples See: *Asand o Mukatebat-i-Tarikhi-i-Iran* (Historical documents and letter of Iran, compiled by Abdul Husain Nawali, third edition, 1370 A.H./1991 A.D. Iimi and Farhangi publications, pp.150-154.

number and collected funds from them to build Khanqah-i-Nurya (Nurya monastery) and in this way became the founder of the Nur Bakhshid order at Shiraz.[1]

No doubt, Nur Bakhshi movement, after the death of the founder of this order lost the aggressive spirit, but, its teachings were carried to Hindustan, upto Kashmir by Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi, one of the disciples of Shah Qasim Faiz Bakhsh.[2] In the beginning these ideas were refuted by Muslim theologians and Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh's book, Fiqh-i-Ahwat was considered a misleading work, but, later his mystic throughts were accepted over a great part of that region (i.e. Laddakh, Avadh, Faizabad, and Dehradun).[3] and the city of Dehli was also under its influence.

One of the reasons behind the loss of the aggressive spirit of the Nur Bakhshi revolutionary movement was that, after the death of its founder (Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh) Shah Qasem and the other children of Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, i.e.....Saiyid Ja'far and Saiyid Baha'uddin were highly revered by the Timuri rulers of the later period.[4] This was the main reason that the mystics of the Nour Bakhshi order did not want to continue any movement

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1. *Risala-i-Firqa-i-Nurbakhshia*, by Nasiruddin Shah Husaini. Tehran University, (the treatise of Nur Bakhshi sect), pp.222-226 and see also: *Majalis ul Muminin*, p.305.

2. *Sharh Gulshan-i-Raz* (the commentary on Golshan-i-Raz-the garden of mystic secrets), by Shamsuddin Muhammad Lahiji, edited by Muhammad Reza Barzegar Khaliqi and Effat-i-Karbasi, Zavvar Publisher, Tehran, 1371 A.H./1992 A.D..

3. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, or *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (history of Kashmir), written in 1023 A.H./1614 A.D., compiled by Dr. Akbar Haidari, published in 1402 A.H./1982 A.D. by Anjuman-i-Shari'-i-Shia'yani-Jammu and Kashmir (the theologion society of the shiites of Jammu and Kashmir pp.266-270

4. *Tarikh-i-Farishta* by Muhammad Qasim Farishta, Vol.II, pp.645-647.

against them. Besides that, when the Safavids came to power, the Shiite thoughts made such a great impact upon the Nur Bakhshi teachings, that there appeared a concordance between the two.[1] It was on account of this, that the reverence for all the descendants of Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh was also maintained by the Safavis, except one, namely Khwaja Arjasb, son of Khwaja Sheikh A'li Tehrani, known as Ummid-i-Razi, whom Shah Tahmasb treated very harshly. His account will be given in the chapter dealing with the migration of the poets and other men of learning to Hindustan.[2]

Baktashi Movement :

The Baktashi Movement was one of the important mystic movements which thrived during the eighth century A.H. influenced by the Shiite ideology. It started its missionery work and preached its spiritual teachings.

The founder of this order was one Saiyid Mohammed Haji Baktash vali, born at Nishbour, then the capital of Khurasan province. His father was Saiyid Ibrahim and mother's name was Khatom who was the daughter of Sheikh Ahmad, one of the learned men of that city.

The Baktashi movement developed and branched out particularly during the 9th century A.H. (16th Century A.D.) at Anatolia and hence did not have much concern with the Timurid rulers, but here the two fold aspects of this movement are required to be discussed.

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1 *Risala-i-Firqa-i-Nurbakhshiya*, pp. 72-76.

2. In some parts of India, particularly in the hilly regions (like Dehradoun and Laddakh) these ideas penetrated and still Muslims of that region act upon the teachings of *Fiqh-i-Ahwat*.

The first pertains to its relations with the Hurufis, who fled to Anatolia after being rooted out from Persia by Timur and Shahrukh Mirza his successor. At Anatolia they revived their politico-religious and cultural life under the banner of the Baktashi discipline.[1]

The second aspect is related to their religious belief. As they were extremist in following the Shiite tenets they found in the Qazilbashis, the strong supporter of Shah Ismail Safavi, their counterpart who also had the same ideas, consequently both of them developed cordial relations which won them the reverence of the Safavis who gave in to their ideology.[2]

This should be noted here, that the sectarian prejudice of the Safavid rulers was one of the important factors for the migration of many Persian Scholars, poets, and men of letters from Persia to Hindustan.

Apparently, Haji Baktash Vali had spent the early days of his life in Persia. But, very little is known about his childhood and the days of his youth. In the Turkish sources, he has been mentioned as one of the students and strict follower of Ahmad Yasvi, the son of Shukh Ibrahim, born at Sayram, (a town in Western Turkistan) during the second half of eleventh century A.D. He completed his education at his home town, which was at that time under the rule of Qarakhani dynasty and was considered as one of the great centres of Islamic studies. Shukh Yusuf of Hamadan 9d.1140 A.D.) was one of those teachers

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1. *Alrisalato ul Ahmadia fi Tarikh-et Tariqat el Baktashia* (a treatise on the history for Baktashid order by Ahmad Serribaba, published at Sharq Press, Egypt 1358 A.H./1939 A.D.

2. Ritter H. *Aghazi-Firqa-i-Hurufia* (the rise of Hurufia sect) p.76.

who inspired him most. After completing his education he went to Yesi town and there he established the Yasvi order.

Ahmad Yasvi, being Scholar of Islamic studies and Persian literature inspired mystic thoughts among his disciples and preached Islamic ideas in simple words among those Turk villagers and nomadic people who had newly embraced the Islamic faith. While preaching Islamic tenets, he also revived among them the tribal traditons, which were very common in that region since long. In this way he made them very staunch Muslims and also amalgamated their tribal tradtions, with their creed.[1]

Yasviism though originated in Transoxiana, yet it spread its roots in the directions of Kharizm, Bulgaria, Khurasan, as well as in other parts of Persia. As mentioned above Haji Baktash Vali was born at Nishabur, and completed his studies there and was given there in the charge of Luqman Paranda (one of the successors of Ahmad Yasvi) to teach him the disciplines of Baktashi order. After completing his trainng, he set out on journey, to preach this order. It has been revealed by modern research that it was Haji Baktash Vali who propagated the teachings of his order in Asia Minor.[2]

Haji Baktash Vali, after migrating to Asia Minor, made his first sojourn at Sivas (a city in Asia Minor), and then went to Mecca for performing the holy pilgrimage. The title "Haji" (the pilgrim) was prefixed to his name (Baktash)

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1. For further information about the life of Ahmad Yasvi, see. *The Early saints in Turkish literature* by Fuad Koprulu, third edited version, Ankara 1976, See also *"Bektash"*. *Encyclopedia of Islam*. New edition. Vol.I. pp.401-64.

2. For further detail, see : *Muntakhabati az Divan-i-Hikmat Ahmad Yasvi* [a selection of the poems of Ahmad Yasvi, pen named *Hikmat* (the wisdom)] by Kamal Arsalan, Ankara, 1983, p.53.

after the performacne of this pilgrimage. After that he went to the city of Amasya and entered the circle of the disciples of Baba Ishaq, known as Baba Rasul Ullah, the leader of Babais, who had launched his campaign against the Sunni nobles of the Saljuq dynasty, but was suppressed and its supporters were driven away in different dirctions. Some of them joined other movements of this type; one of them had been started by Shukh Badruddin Samavna (b.760 A.H./1359 A.D.).[1] The others rejoined the circle establshed by the disciples of Haji Baktash Vali. It was since then that Haji Baktash Vali gradually became the focus of attention and the people who came to pay their respect to him addressed him as Pir (preceptor) and Murshid (instructor) being the founder of Baktashi order.[2]

The Baktashi order started its activities in the Ottoman empire during the 9th century A.H./14th century A.D. It was functioning there successfully parallel to other orders, like Haidaris, Qalandaris and Abdali which were very popular there at that time. During the ninth and tenth centuries A.H./15th and 16th centuries A.D., the Baktashid order was particularly popular among the *Janissaries*.[3] The concepts of other esoteric orders were also acceptable if they

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1. As Haji Baktash Vali writes, ... "Ahmad Yasvi Said this mortal world is not place of enjoyment for me, I am making preparations for the next world. I have appointed you to go to Rum." Next day, after receiving this order, Haji Baktash Vali Sought the permission of Ahmad Yasvi and set out on his journey early in the morning. See : *Vilayat Nama'a* treatise, consisting of poems in praise of God by Haji Baktash Vali, edited by Abdul Baqi Golpinavli, Istanbul, 1985, pp. 5-9.

2. *Paidayish-i-Daulat-i-Safavi* (birth of Safavid empire) by Michael Mazavi, translated into Persian by Ya'qub Azhand, Gustarah publication, Tehran, 1361 A.H. (1882 A.D.) pp.137-138.

3. The *Janissaries* were selected in the regular Ottoman army from amongst the Christians, who later gained so much power that they could enthrone or depose the Ottoman Sultan.

were not basically contrary to the ideas of the above mentioned order. Though during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839 A.D.) there was a general massacre of them in the year 1826 and the recruitment of Janissaries was also done away with but during the reign of Sultan Abdul Aziz (1861-1876 A.D.) it was again revived which functioned with renewed Vigour, in the Ottoman empire.[1]

This order during the 8th century A.H./14th century A.D. was generally acepted in Western Anatolia by the soldiers, Janissaries and those persons who were called "Mujahidan-i-Rum (fighters of Rum), who carried it to Balkan peninsula when they went there with victorious Ottoman army. From there it penetrated into Albania through Tuna Coast, where several monastreis were created later. The migration of this order, in this way helped a lot; the inhabitants of Balkan peninsula were persuaded to embrace Islam and accept any such order having the teachings similar to those of the Baktashi.[2]

In the 9th century A.H./15th century A.D. Baktashi order had very strong footing and became a regular order, before its charge was taken by Balim Sultan (922 A.H./1516 A.D.) the second founder of it, who rightly deserved to be called one of its founders. He made certain modifications in the basic rules of this order and reoriented those organizations which were functioning inside the

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1. *Umani Tarikhi* by Ahmad Rasim, Vol.IV, Istanbul, 1328-30 A.H. (1949-1951 A.D.) pp.1831 and onward.

2. Fakhruddin A'jami was orginally a Persian. He was the student of Mir Saiyid Sharif Jurjani. He was appointed Mufti (expounder of Sunnite jurisprudence) of Constantinople. He had issued order that the Hurufis should be burnt alive like the followers of Manes.

monasteries. He also organized those monks who were living in groups among the religious people of the villages and town located around the monasteries. These monks did not marry, lived in monasteries and as a demonstration of their celibacy used to wear iron rings in thier ears. Apparently it seems that such practices would have been borrowed from Christian monks, but a deep study reveals that the dervishes of the Qalandari order, who were very similar to the Baktashis in their teachings, also observed such practices.[1]

During the 9th century A.H./15th century A.D. they were scattered throughout the entire Anatolia. During the regin of Sultan Murad II, the Ottoman ruler (1421-1451 A.D.) and in the early days of the reign of Sultan Muhammad Fatih (1451-1481 A.D.) they had grown so much domineering that even the courts of these Sultans were tottering under their weight. But, when Mahmud pasha Vazir and Fakhruddin A'jami, kept them under strict vigilance, they thought it wise for their servival to amalgamate with the Baktashis. Thus they continued their preachigs in cognito. At the time when an attempt was made on the life of Bayazid II (481-1521 A.D.) the dervishes called Torlak were thought to have been implicated. As a result the Hurufis, were also kept under strict Survillance. It was also one of the reasons why they mingled with the Baktashis, like the Hurufis and continued thier campaign. This is also worth mentioning here, that the Baktashi order, since the early days of it formation had taken very liberal views and had introduced many heretical ideas and thus

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1. This has been mentioned earlier, that the Hurufis, at Anatolia, from the beginning tried to associate with influential persons so that they might win their sympathy and goodwill for thier mission, and use them as prise for their cause.

was not much different in spirit from the other similar ordrs. But, on the basis of such observations, it would not be justified to characterise them as such from the historical point of view.[1]

The cordial relations among several orders at Anatolia left deep impact on each other. It is on account of this that the mottos of different orders were very similar to the motto of the Baktashi order. Subsequently, the different forms of extremist esoteric shiities, called "ghulat" (the extremists) by Islamic jurists, produced their own mystic interpretations regarding that class of Qalandari order who had borrowed their ideas from the Malamatiyah[2] (reproachers) order of Khurasan (the more primitive form of which was the concept of Unity of The[3] Being) They had appeared at Anatolia during the 7th century A.H./13th century A.D. under the influence of the mystic philosophy of Muhiuddin Arabi). Traces of Shamanism, prevalent among the turk nomads and the belieifs of Hurufis were clearly evident among these Baktashis who lived in the ninth century A.H./14th century A.D. They were neither uniform nor stable, therefore, they always remained such a jumble that they could not be embodied in a particular form.

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1. For further infomration regarding the beliefs of the Hurufis and there activities at Anatolia, See : *Shiites and Baktashis during the 10th century A.H.* (16th Century A.D.), by Ahmad Rafiq Alton. These records are preserved at the Turkish archives. Translated by Tufiq Sobhani, Ma'rif, journal. Ist issue, Vol.XII, Farvadin-Tir month (March-April) 1372 A.H> (1993) pp. 104-110.

2. The followers of this order behaved in a manner which elicited the reproach and hate of the people. In this way they reformed themselves by removing those shortcomiings which were pointed out by others. This was one of the means to come closer to God, Almighty.

3. Unity of Being in mystic conception is complete annihilation of devotee in God, This view was first offered by Husain Mansur Hallaj, who used to say "I am the Truth"

The main reason of the success of the Baktashi order, like many other esoteric orders, was that it was divided in many grades. Every initiate was given instructions according to the level of his understanding. This ambiguity and obscurity was such that this order with this system was not only popular at the great centres of Sunnite Muslims and various sunnite orders but was equally popular among those villagers, nomads frontier guards and those Muslims who were out of the pale of the sunnite influence. The teachings of this order were so vague that none of its principles were intelligible and thus could not be prepagated successfully. it also lacked adaptation to different environments and did not fulfil the requirement of those disciples who were the seekers of such an order which could satiate their thirst. On the contrary its teachings were obscure and could be interpreted in various ways. If we take into consideration the religious conditions of the Muslims of Anatolia and the tribal people of Rum (Byzantine), keeping in view the ideas prevalent among the esoteric shiite Muslims, during the 7th and the 8th centuries A.H. (13th to 15th centuries A.D) we will find that every spiritual precepter had gathered round him a number of disciples and was so much cautions in his sermons as nothing could be made out of them. This they had done purposefully with the intention that the followers of various other sects might not get at any thing during the choatic conditions of those days. This was the main reason that the Baktashi order, since the day of its coming into being had gained popularity among the simple minded Byzantine Muslims and Christians.

The other reason of its popularity as a religious belief, was that its concepts suited the time and gradually adopted had the characteristics of a time

server. The result of the close mutual links among several orders was that, the Baktashis, like Christianity, evolved the concept of Holy Trinity, (God, Muhammad and Ali), giving priority to Ali, the Caliph, over Muhammad, the prophet, Subsequently the belief of the divinity of Ali had brought them closer to the sect of Deifiers of Ali. Being influenced by this concept of the Baktashis, some Baktasho-Hurufis also cultivated the belief of divinity of Fazlullah Hurufi. According to this concept therefore, Ali (the caliph), Haji Baktash (the founder of the Baktashi order) and Fazlullah (the restorer of Hurufi order) were placed at the highest position in the Baktashi order.[1]

In all these orders the personality of Ali, the caliph, has always been the centre of gravity for all the politico-religious movements and Shiism, too, was considered a sharp weapon in all these political movements, but in spite of all that every order, in consideration of the political situation, changed its policy according to the time and circumstances of the place. For example, the Baktashi order in the region of Rum Eilee, Asia Minor, was considered a religious group rather than a political party, it was therefore always supported in the territory of Ottoman empire and the chiefs of the order were always paid great esteem. In the same manner, the Hurufis at the time of launching their campaigns against Timur were considered great enthusiasts and torch bearers of revolution, but, in the region of Anatolia, as they were under strict surveillance and their political activities were watched they decided to capitalise the social position of the Baktashis and continued their political activities under their banner. The element that hardened the attitude of the Ottoman rulers, and made them take a serious

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1. For further information regarding this subject, see, *Velayat Nama,* , Haji Baktash Vali, pp.5-9.

and strict note was shiism, which had gained much popularity in the region of Anatolia. As the Ottomans were always against the Persian, so, they had also suppressed all their revolutionary movements and it was for this reason that every revolutionary shiite movement met blood shed and oppression[1]

Shiism was such a sectarian weapon as was always used by the Persian rulers against the Ottoman Turks to defeat them in the political field. While the Ottomans were always on the look out to shatter and uproot shiism and banish it from their territory, they also tried to get their hold over the Eastern provinces of their empire which were under the control of the Persians. But, as Baktashism under the protection of the Ottomans had become a regular military force, no body was concerned with the descendants of Haji Baktash. It was for this reason that Alhaj Faiz Ullah, one of the descendants of Haji Baktash Vali and a highly esteemed person of his time, lived in this monastery at Istanbul with full honour. But, the Ottoman rulers (who were the followers of the Sunniite sect of Islam) and particularly the clergy class of the court, looked upon Shiism as a potential politico sectarian danger which always threatened them.[2] As the shiites of the Eastern provinces were under the politico sectarian influence of

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1. For further information, See: *Asnad-i-Ahmad Rafiq* (Documents of Ahmad Rafiq), Maref (Journal) Vol.I. year 1372 A.H. (1993 A.D.), pp. 2 to 74. ;The original papers are preserved at Viziri achives (Istanbul), and *Naqsh-i-Turkan-i-Anatoli dar tashkil-o-Tausia-i-Daulat-i-Safavi* (Role of Anatolian Turks in the formation and expansion of Safavid empire), translated into persian by Muhammad Taqi Emami, 1371 A.H. (1992 A.D.), *Majmua-i-Pazhohesh-i-Tarikhi* (a collection of historical research).

2. Particularly the punishments meted out to those shiites who had their relations with Persia, killing of those persons who financially helped Shah Ismail Safavi in the shape of religious charity funds, confiscation of the shiite literature and even seizing those Persian carpets on which the name of Ali, the Caliph, and Husain, the grand son of the prophet, (peace be upon him) were woven, besides, other measures were also taken against the shiites.

   See : *Asnad-i-Ahmad Rafig*, ibid. pp. 79-116.

Persia, so, they showed much dynamism in receiving the Persian intruders in Ottoman territories they considered this act of theirs as an act which would be doing them good (spiritual) reward, This necessitated their strict surveillance by the Ottomans.

The conversion of Shah Ismail Safavi to Shiism and his revolt against the Muslims of the Sunnite sect resulted ultimately from the suppression of the Shiites by the Ottomans. for this act the Ottomans were also equally responsible, because they always neglected the shiites.

Sultan Muhammad II (D.886 A.H./1481 A.D.) entitled Fatih[1] (the victorious) annexed the region of Anatolia to Ottoman empire. As the people there were deprived of all the comforts of life, led a hard life in high mountains and sought their mental relief by performing religious practices, so, they surrendered themselves to the power seeking but lawful authority of Shah Ismail, one of the descendants of Sheikh Safiuddin of Ardbil as the ruler of Persia. Consequently, Shah Ismail also reacted against the measures taken by the Ottoman Turks and carried out his sectarian policy. At the time when Sultan Bayazid II (year of accession 886 A.H./1481 A.D.), the son of Sultan Muhammad Fatih was ruling over Ottoman empire there were many deputies of Shah Ismail who were living at Anatolia. The provinces of Hamid and Takha were mostly occupied by them and they wielded much influence there on the one

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1. As Sultan Muhammad had captured Istanbul (then called Constantinople) and sounded the death knell of the Byzantine empire on 20th of the month of Jamid ul Awwal 857 A.H. (29th May 1453 A.d.) so he was entitled *"Fateh"*.

hand and[1] the province of Azarbayjan was the pocket of those sufis who were the disciples of Shah Ismail on the other. The sectarian revolt that had started in the Eastern provinces of the Ottoman empire dealt out such a menacing threat to it that Bayazid Ii was forced to supress it. Shah Ismail, too stationed his army at Tabriz, the capital of Azarbayjan and did not let the Ottomans attack that region. Most of the sufis, residing in Hamid and Tokka provinces were exiled to the coastal area of Rum-i-ill. Instructions were sent to the provincial governors to the effect that any person called Sufi should not be permitted to enter Anatolia. In spite of all these restrictions people of Hamid and Takka provinces were fully prepared to start sectarian revolution. They started hostilities at the time when they realized that the Ottoman Turks were confronted with political crises in their territory.

This happened at the time when price Salim revolted against his father Bayazid II and when the Ottoman empire was faced with such a critical situation as possed a serious danger to its very survival. Shah Ismail took advantage of this situation and continued his political activities in the Eastern region of his country. Consequently, a strong support from different Shiite tribes of Anatolia played a very significant role for the success of Shah Ismail to come in power. But, when the Safavid established their authority over the country and declared Shiism as the official sect of their realm, Unfortunately, they had not adequate number of shiite jurists and sufficient juristic material They therefore adopted

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1. The present region of Anatolia, was called Takka in ancient times, after the name of one of the prince of Hamid dynasty. Local people also call it Takallu. The revolutionaries of this region were generally shiites and were more extremists than the Qazilbashis of Persia.

beliefs of extremist shiite Muslims who were influenced by the ideas of the Anatolian Turks, They some way or the other, were also inspired by the Baktashi thoughts, which did irreparable harm to the cultural life of the country. But, Haji Baktash Vali, from social and historical point of view, left a remarkable impact, on the religious and cultural identity of the people of Asia Minor. His role has been so significant that some scholars are of the opinion that his movement the biggest and most forceful, acted as a factor for the propagation of Islam in that region and Balkan peninsula. Some Turkish writers also believe that he was one of the giant pillars in the field of cultural life and played an important role in making Anatolia a Turkish speaking region. they consider him the gallant hero of his age. At present many Baktashis live in Turkey Albania and Egypt. The place called Almuqattam is an important centre of Baktashis at Cairo.[1]

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1. For speaking Baktashid order in Egypt, See: Ahmad Serribaba, *Alresalat ul Ahmadya* pp. 25-48.

CHAPTER - III

THE FORMATION OF SAFAVI REGIME AND THE EARLY MUGHALS

RISE OF THE SAFAVIS:

After the advent of Islam in Persia, the rise of Safavi dynasty on the political horizon in the early decades of the 16th century of the Christian era was a very significant event in the history of Persia. Persia, by throwing off the 850-years old yoke of foreign rule was again all set to become a powerful and independent Islamic country in the East. An area larger than that of the pre-Islamic period was carved out and was brought under one rule and the glory of the Sasani (224-652 A.D.) period was revived.

One of the important factors of this success was the sectarian prejudic. Shah Ismail Safavi (907-930 A.H/1502-1524 A.D), was the founder of the dynasty. He declared himself to be the staunchest advocate and supporter of Shiism in Iran, which was at that time passing through anarchy and chaos. It was Shah Ismail who brought About the unity of the sect and the state which played an important role in establishing a strong government based on religio-political loyalty. Having pursued this policy, the Safavis were in a position to repulse the cultural and military incursions of the Ottoman empire in the West, and claimed to be the legitimate heir to the Caliphate and leadership of the whole of the Muslim world; they also met the challenge of Uzbeks in the East, who were the allies and co-religionists of the Ottomans.[1]

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1. Yazdgerd III, Sasani king was killed in 31 A.H/651 A.D, while Shah Ismail Safavi came to throne in 907 A.D./1501 A.D. In this span of time (850 solar years, or 876 lunar years), Iran had remained, all the time, deprived of political unity, inside the country.

THE FOUNDER OF THE SAFAVIS:

The Safavi family, to be called later the Safavi dynasty after the name of their ancestor **Sheikh Safiuddin** of Ardbil (d. 735 A.H/1334 A.D) followed the Sufi order and they were known as Sufis (mystics) much before their conversion to the Shiite sect.[1]

There comes a change in this psyche. Those sufis and mystics who had confined themselves to their monasteries, followed the Sufi order established by Sheikh SafiUddin, offered prayer and practical religious rites prescribed by their

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1. The order that Sheikh Safi followed was inherited by him from his spiritual guide Sheikh Zahid of Gilan. The terms and conditions for an initiate to enter the fold of Sufi order, set by Sheikh Safi was that a disciple first of all, should repent his past sins and make a vow that he would not commit it again. The disciples of Sheikh Safi, contrary to the darvishes belonging to other orders, were not allowed to go a begging; they were asked to earn their livelihood by adopting some profession or any skilled work; they should offer their prayers regularly on time and perform only those acts which are permitted by the Shariat.

   After offering his repentance, the disciple was instructed to invoke God by reciting loudly and rhythmically the faith in oneness of God Almighty, by saying "There is no god, but one God." After this ceremony, the head of the disciple was shaved and his finger nails were pared. He was then made to sit in seclusion for forty days. During this time, the disciple was bound to observe fast every day, every night and always keep busy in offering prayers and invoking the name of God. If during this period he experienced any enlightenment in his soul he should bring it to the notice of his spiritual guide, so that he might be told, by his spiritual guide about the transformation that was taking place in his spiritual life. By invoking the name of God and practising other rituals, he could gradually get at the mysteries of the material and spiritual world. If the disciples failed to attain their spiritual goal at the first instance, they were advised to sit in seclusion, again for another forty days and if they also failed in the second attempt, they were asked to go through the same process again and again. When the spiritual guide felt that the disciple had attained his ultimate object, he was given final teaching for spiritual enlightenment. At this stage, the disciple was permitted to go to the region that he liked or the one selected for him. There he started his spiritual mission and admitted many new disciples to his fold.

   Invocation of the name of God, rhythmically on high pitch was one of the basic principles of the Safavi order. After passing through this stage, the disciple reached the state of enlightenment. Now, the minstrels were called and asked to sing mystic songs aloud. When the disciples were transported into a state of excessive trance they started dancing. At such functions Sheikh Safi himself joined his disciples and exhibited much state of ecstasy.

spiritual preceptors, took to arms and cherished political ambitions within two centuries. How did it happen?[1]

The answer to this question lies in the study of the development of this sufi order, which is beyond the purview of this paper. But, this much can be said here, in general that the formation of Safavi government was an important event in the history of Persia. Because, on the one hand it encouraged politico-religious movements all over the country in different periods after Islamic invasion and on the other it opposed the caliphate of Baghdad, met the military threat from neighbouring states and established relations with those tribes of Anatolia who were the disciples and followers of the Sufi order formed and regulated by the Sufis of Ardbil monastery.

Here, it should be kept in mind that the Safavi movement did not spring up all of a sudden, but was the result of a long drawn process of development of political thought in the country during the preceding centuries. These movements made deep impression on the minds of the people who belonged to the oppressed classes and aroused the sentiments of the people against their offending rulers. The movements which started after the Arab invasion of Persia and continued to the Safavi period were as follows :

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1. About this change Fazlullah Ruzbahan Khunji sarcastically remarks : "What occasion to the religion that they substituted the prayer carpet of Sanctity for the saddle cover, ... the cloak of purity was converted into the mark of blood-shed and the sceptre of holiness was changed into the spear of massacre! See : *Alam Ara-i-Amini*, photocopy of MS. by Mujtaba Minavi, Central library of the university of Tehran, Vol. I, Fol. 264, Vol.II, Fol. 265.

Mawali Movements,[1] revolt of Abu Muslim of Khurasan;[2] Zaidis[3] and Alavis[4] movements, formation of Al-i-Buwaih[5] state (based on Shia tenets), rise

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1. The word Mawali (plural of Maula, meaning lord and friend. But, in Persia to address a slave respectflly, this word was comonly used, which later gave the meaning of slave). was a term applied by Arab invaders to the Persians and was used in the sense of slave to humiliate them. The successive victories of the Arabs had created in them the complex that it was their racial superiority which had brought them all these troubles. The Umayyids and their supporters believed that a non-Arab cannot be equal to an Arab, even if he had embraced Islam. This made the Arab regard the non-Arab Muslims as Slaves, and they gave them the epithet "Mawali (the masters). But, as the Persians considered themselves culturally superior to Arabs and were proud of the glory of the Sasanid period, therefore, they were looking forward to the opportunity of throwing off the yoke of Arab slavery. This reaction of the Persians against Arabs egged them on to compose Satirical poems to denigrate them. Some Persians also openly revolted against the Umayyas. One of them was Mukhtar son of Ubaidullah-i-saqafi, (though an Arab by race, he was very much pro-Persian) who in the year 66 A.H./685 A.D. revolted against them with the support of twenty thousand Persians, who belonged to Basra, Algeria and some other parts and had assembled at Kufa.

2. Abu Muslim, a native of Khurasan province, revolted, at Marv city in 129 A.H/746 A.D. with the help of his Persian supporters against the Umayya governor and occupied that city in the year 130 A.H./765 A.D.

3. The Zaidia sect was founded by Zaid, one of the direct descendants and fourth in the lineage of Ali bin Abu Talib. He revolted against Abdul Malik, the Umayyid caliph, but was killed in 21 A.H./641 A.D. The Zaidia sect had attracted many supporters and followers at Tabaristan, during the reign of the Alavids (250-316 A.D./864-928 A.D.). (See below)

4. The founder of the Alavi dynasty was Hasan son of Zaid the direct descendent and fourth in the lineage of Ali bin, Abu Talib. He lived at Rey (an old city near present Tehran, Iran), and was supported by the inhabitants of Daylam, Chalous and Rouyan revolted against Sulaiman, the governor of Tabaristan province, who fled from his capital and took refuge in Gorgan province. Hasan occupied Amul and Sari and annexed these cities. He laid the foundation of the Alavi dynasty in Tabaristan province. In the year 257 A.H/870 A.D. he attacked Gorgan and defeated the army of Muhammad son of Tahir. He died in 270 A.H./883 A.D.

5. Buwaih dynasty (320-447 A.D./932-1055 A.D.) was founded by the three sons of a fisherman, namely Buye. At the time when the Alavis had revolted against the office bearers of Samani nobles, these three brothers also joined hands with the Alavis and supported their cause.

of Ismailis,[1] formation of the Fatemi state,[2] revolt of Sarbedaran, movement of Qavvami of Mazandaran, rise of Baktashia and Hurufia sects, and the movements of the generous ones, courageous ones and young men etc.[3] These movements clearly indicate that the Persians reacted strongly against the highhanded caliphs of Baghdad and their oppressive rule in neighbouring states of Persia.

Baghdad surrendered to Halaku Khan Mongol in the year 656 A.H./1258 A.D. which wound up the Abbasi caliphate alongwith those organizations which functioned to suppress the movements of freedom-seekers and liberal thinkers. But, the tolerance which the Ilkhanids showed to religion and religious movements prepared the ground for the development of these thoughts in Persia and beyond.

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1. Ismaili sect. in fact is a branch of Shiite sect. Muslims of this sect believe that Ismail, son of Ja'far-i-Sadiq, (the sixth Imam in the lineage of Ali bin Abu Talib), was the last Imam. By the year 260 A.H./873 A.D. (when Mahdi, the twelfth Imam, disappeared) this subject had no significance. But, after that year Abdullah Ibn-i-Maimun Alqaddah Ahwazi, who claimed to posses some miraculous powers, laid much stress on the importance of this sect. He settled down in Syria and from there despatched preachers to Asia and Africa, Hamadan, known as Qaramet, one of the nobles in Sudan got influenced by this movement and it was for this reason that the members of the Ismaili sect were called *Qaramatian*. For complete one hundred years (277-377 A.H./890-987 A.D.), they continued their revolts in the territories Transoxiana, Bahrain, Syria and the Yaman, governed by the Abbasid.

2. Egypt, after the rise of Fatemi caliphate movement did not remain part of Abbasid caliphate.

3. The movements of JawanMardan (brave men), *Ahl-i-Futuwwat* Chivalrous persons) and A'yyaran (gallants) : These movements reached their peak in the middle of second century of Hijra. It came into being in the Eastern Part of Persia, particularly in the provinces of Sistan and Khurasan. This movement was directed against the harsh behaviour and racial prejudice of Umayyid caliphs and their puppet rulers. The leader of this national movement was a group of some courageous Persians, called in Arabic, *Ahl-e-Futuwwat*. The Arab rulers of this region suffered a great loss, caused by the courageous, generous and gallant Persians. As the Persians used gurrilla war tactis and fought very cautiously, they were called A'yyar (gallants). This movement was also called Junbish-e-A'yyaran (gallants movement).

Shiism, which had failed to get any opportunity for its expansion and propagation - except for a small span of time during the short lived Buye dynasty now had enough chance for its expansion and firm footing. During the reign of Ilkhanid period Sultan Tigundar and Ghazan Khan embraced Islam and adopted Islamic names Ahmad and Mahmud respectively.

Uljaytu, in the early days of his reign, after accepting Islam, chose to follow the Shiia sect and adopted Muhammad Khuda Banda as his Islamic name and made up his mind to expand and propagate this sect. The state patronage contributed a lot to the growth and development of the Shiite sect.

Shiism and mysticism both gave a fresh hue and colour to Persian culture. Thus mysticism which in the early days of Islam was exclusively inspired by Divine love, how stepped out and gradually started to widen its scope. Self discipline, self-abandonment, self-abnegation, self-denial and a total detachment from every thing mundane gave place to material well-being and fighting against social in- justice, corruption and oppression by the powers that be. During the Mongolian and the Timuri periods monasteries became the places of refuge for the well-wishers of the society and those enlightened persons who had a desire to establish a society free from all social evils and the high-handedness of the ruling class.[1]

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1. Hamd Ullah Mustaufi, compiled his work, in the year 730 A.D./1329 A.D. i.e. five years before the death of Shah Safi. About him he wrote: "Sheikh Safi Uddin of Ardbil is alive. He is an influential person and has big endowments. As Mongols have great regard for him, therefore, he has forbidden many members of that class to harass the people, which is a big task. See *Tarikh-i-Guzida*, edited by Dr. Abdul Husain Nawaii, published by Amir Kabir Tehran, 1339 A.H. p.675.

What drew the mystics and the Shiites closer to each other and forged a bond of loyalty was their devotion to and love for Ali bin Abu Talib whose personal character appealed to them as ideal. Most of the Sufi orders accept that the teaching of Ali are the spring of mystic thoughts, and, as he has been called the gate of knowledge,[1] therefore, all the mystic paths lead towards him. Such were the ideas that brought the devotees of the two schools close to each other.

During the eighth and ninth centuries of the Islamic era, Baktashia and Hurufia orders having branched out from Shiism, allied with those mystic orders which were inclined toward shiism. The followers of Haji Baktash Wali, known as Baktashia (pertaining to Baktash) prided themselves on being called the devotees of Ali bin Abu Talib. When they sensed that the conditions were unfavourable for them in Persia, they migrated to Anatolia, where their advocates started their underground activities.

During the Timuri period followers of Hurufia order too appeared on the scene in the form of a spiritual class with certain features of Shiism. They also made up their mind to launch a campaign on intellectual level against the Timuri ruling class. But, as Fazl Ullah Astarabadi, their leader was put to death by Timur, his followers migrated to Asia Minor, where they allied themselves with the Baktashia order and started their activities to propagate their teachings with the blessing of the Baktashis.

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1. There is a saying of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) that "I am the city of knowledge and Ali is its gate". *Behar ul Anwar* by Muhammad baqir Majlesi, Qum edition, Vol.40, p.11.

During the Saljuqi reign (431-682 A.D./1039-1289 A.D.) Asia Minor had become the place of refuge for immigrants. They also contributed to the development of their ideology among the people. At the time when the Saljuqi Turks, under the command of Alb Arsalan (455-465 A.H./1063-1072 A.D) defeated the Byzantinian army in the year 463 A.H./1070 A.D.) at Malazgard[1] and captured that city, Asia Minor played host to the Muslim immigrants, a majority of whom formed the bulk of immigrants from Persia. With the settlement of the Persians there, Persian language and culture also started to exercise their influence.

During their rule over Byzantium, the Saljuqis had recognised Persian as the Court language. This indicates the measure of popularity and prominence the Persian culture had gained. This afforded a great opportunity for the development and expansion of Persian influence and this state of affairs continued throughout the political supremacy of the Saljuqis, Ilkhanis and the ottomans successively. The cultural, literary and official paradigm was entirely transformed and persianised.

When the Persian speaking people migrated to Asia Minor, they were accompanied by some Turkish-speaking groups also who settled down in Anatolia. The Persians took there the Turkish-speaking Persian who were nomadic and preferred to live in areas that Abunded in pasture for their livestock. Hence the mountainous region.

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1. This city was situated between Wan lake and Arzanatulrum in the North of Akhlat in Asia Minor.

This variegated natural atmosphere of Asia Minor which had already offered shelter to those peace loving people who had sought refuge there as a result of bloodshed and massacre, also played host to Greek Christians, Armenians, Asurians, Arabs, Jews and members of other communities, who enriched and contributed to Persian literature and culture in their own way.

An increase in the number of Turkish-speaking tribes of the Persians and their settlement in rural areas gave birth to two types of standard of living as well as two different cultures. One of them was urban and the other rural, with a nomadic tinge. The Saljuqi rulers of Rum, following in the footsteps of the great Saljuqis, adopted the system of government which had been established by Persian administrators. Sunnism was declared the state religion together with its administrative system and social norms.

These circumstances gave rise to the development of politico-sectarian life between the inhabitants of rural and urban areas. On one side there were the nomadic people struggling under utter poverty, and on the other there was the ruling class settled in cities destined to enjoy a prosperous life. The marked difference between the standard of living of the villagers and the city dwellers, gave an opportunity to Shia missionaries to preach and propagate Shiism, particularly the creed, the sub-sect, who were extremely devoted to Ali, and believed him as a super human being.[1]

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1. Tashaiu-i-Ghali (Exaggerated Shiism) is a creed of some Shiite Muslim who flaunted their devotion to Ali bin Abu Talib and believed that he possessed some supernatural powers.

The chiefs of several tribes, who appeared on the scene in Asia Minor under the title of Baba,[1] were in fact the persons who retained and continued the tradition of "Shamans" among those followers who thought it their sacred duty to obey. These people had disguised themselves as Politico-religious leaders and were called Babaji (pertaining to Baba) by their followers. They raised their heads in the seventh century of the Islamic era, They were supported by these leaders and the hostile tribes who were dissatisfied with the attitude of the ruling class.

Baba Ishaq was a prominent figure among the Babayis. He raised his voice against the position of the nomadic people and the village - people of Asia Minor. Though these movements were crushed by the Saljuqi rulers and the

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1. This movement was started by Baba Ilyas, one of the descendants of ALi bin Abu Talib and the follower of Shiite sect. He migrated from Transoxiana to Anatolia and lived in seclusion in a monastery of that city. He was inspired by the ideas of Ahmad Yasvi (d. 561 A.H./ 1165 A.D.) at Transoxiana. Among the disciples of Baba Ilyas was a saint called Ishaq. He was a shepherd by profession and well known for his piety. He, gradually won some disciples and gathered them round him. In his discourse with them he criticized the conduct of his powerful contemporaries particularly Sultan Ghayas Uddin Saljuqi. His disciples attacked several times the military offices of the Saljuqi rulers of Rum. They also plundered the regions of Siwas and Malita. They distributed the booty among themselves equally.

Baba Ishaq, was called Baba Rasul Ullah (Baba the messanger of God). When he was killed his followers were called Babayis and they propagated this belief that the soul of prophet Muhammad and Ali bin Abu Talib had migrated to his body. When this movement was crushed by the Saljuqi Sultans, their supporters scattered here and there, but as they were always thinking of revolt against the tyrannical rulers, therefore, they again mobilised under the banner of Sheikh Badruddin Samavi and some disciples joined Haji Baktash Wali's order. For further information, See :I, *Akhbar-i-Salajiqa-i-Rum* by Ibn-i-Bibi, compiled by Dr. Muhammad Javad Mashkur, published at Tehran in 1350 A.H./1971 A.D.

II *Junbish-i-Babayian dar Anatoli* (the movements of Babayis at Anatolia) Raul Metika Journal, translated into Persian by Abbas Zareyi Mihrvarz, published in weekly journal, namely Kiyhan-i-Farhangi, year 6, journal VI, pp. 12-13.

Also see : Claud Cahen, *"Baba,i"*, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, New ed. Vol. II, pp.843-44.

Mongol Khans, their bitter memories remained alive in the minds of the tribesmen and the peasantry who encouraged and supported them. Thus the movement came into being in times to come. The influence of Baktashia order and the preachers of Shia sect gradually attracted the nomadic people to Shiism and to the other orders remaining parallel to Shiism. A cursory glance on the existing situation shows that they received inspiration, to a great extent, from the religious and intellectual thoughts of Persia.

Sheikh Safiuddin Ardbili, was the successor of the saint Sheikh Zahid Gilani. He established his monastery in the month of. Rajb 700 A.H/March 1301/A.D., during the last days of Uljaitou's. He delivered sermons on mysticism. and imparted spiritual training to his devotees and men of spiritual bent of mind. As he was sincere and determined so, the teachings of Ardbil monastery were received whole heartedly in Persia and had a direct and immediate appeal to the people of Persia[1] and also of some other parts, beyond that country.[2] The gradual increase in the number of his disciples ultimately drew the attention of the administration of the Ilkhani rulers and other powerful

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1. About the number of his disciples, Ibn-i-Bazzaz Ardbili writes: "When Amir Chupan Sulduz asked Sheikh Safi, 'whether the number of the soldiers in my army is bigger or that of your disciples' he replied: "Only in Persia the number of my disciples is ten times more than the soldiers in your whole army'. See : *Safwat us Safa* by Ibn-i-Bazzaz, compiled by Ghulam Reza Tabatabai Majd, Mosahhah publication, Tabriz, 1373 A.D./1994 A.D., p.19.

2. Ibn-i-Bazzaz, Ibid, page 333 cites Abdul Malik son of Maulana Shamsoddin to the effect that the disciples who only came via Maragha and Tabriz during three months' time to pay visit to their spiritual guide and vowed to commit no Sins were more than thirteen thousand, see :
Silsilat Un Nasab Safavi by Sheikh Husain Pirzadah Zahidi, Iranshar Publicaton, Berlin, 1343 A.H/ 1964 A.D., p.38, and Qazi Ahmad Qumi p.19.

dignitaries of his time.[1] The task which he had set before himself was confined to the missionary and performed after his demise by his successor, Sheikh Sadr Ud din Musa (died in the month of Muharram 735 A.H/September 1334 A.D).

In view of the contemporary socio-political and religious enviornment, it shall be noticed that the decrees issued by jurists and clergymen had such a great impact over the nobles and the eminent persons, that they felt bound to follow them.[2] In those days the sermons of Sheikh Zahid Gilani, the spiritual guide of Sheikh Safi had recommended his disciples to adhere to religious obligations and to practise piety and to fear God.[3] In fact, Sheikh Safi had combined both the

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1. Khwaja Rashid Ud din Fazlullah, the minister of Ghazan Khan and Uljaytou was contemporary with Sheikh Safi Uddin. In a letter to his son Ahmad, the ruler of Ardbil he writes after recognising the exalted position of Sheikh Safi Uddin : *"He should bow his head humbly to and devotingly like a slave to the threshold of that saint, the protector of sanctity. Whatever words of praise, appreciation and admiration would issue forth from his tongue in respect of the exalted glory of that holy man, that would be counted one hundreth part of the whole and even less than that.... You should gird up your loins for his service like an (humble) ant and do whatever he asks; that is a good omen for you and you will feel proud of it."* see : *Mukatibat-i-Rashidi* by Khwaja Rashid Ud din Fazlullah Tabib (physician), compiled by Maulana Muhammad Abarquhi, edited by Muhammad Shafi', Lahore (Punjab), 1364 A.H./1945 A.D., pp. 309-311.

2. Maulana Nasir Uddin of Ardbil, the Jurist was watching the conduct of Sheikh Safi. His intention was to take exception to the Saint if he noticed any thing in him contrary to Islamic faith. He deputed a man in his monastery to watch his conduct. He noticed that Sheikh Safi's way of living was according to Islamic law and all his speeches were also in conformity with the Islamic faith.

   See : *Safvat Us Safa*, by Ibn-i-Bazzaz Tawakkuli, Compiled by Ghulam Reza Tabatabai Majd, Tabriz, 1373 A.H/1994 A.D, p.883.

3. Sheikh Zahid Gilani had advised him: "Beware, hold strongly the reins of Islamic law and strictly follow the prophet (peace be upon him), so that no one could dare object, ...you should combine the truth in the garment of Islamic law. Put the morsel of the truth in the garment of Islamic law. One who did so, was exactly on the right path, in speech and action.

   See : Ibn-i-Bazzaz, Ibid, p.882.

mystic way of living and the Islamic path together.[1] Khwaja Ali (794 A.H./1391 A.D.) and Sheikh Ibrahim, alias Sheikh Shah (830 A.H./1437 A.D) continuously sent his preachers, called Khalifa (successor), Baba (father), Pirah (aged guide) and Akhi (brother), for the purpose of preaching Islamic teachings to various Turk and Turkman tribes of Anatolia.[2]

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1. The Safavi order, showed its inclimation towards Shiism during the days of Khwaja Ali and after. Mulla Jalal Uddin, writes about him:, "As he was always clad in black, mourning of martyred Imam Husain (the grandson of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon them), he was therefore called Khwaja Ali Siyahpush (clad in black). See:account of Mulla Jalal Monajjim in *Tarikh-i-Abbasi* or *Ruz Nama-i-Mulla Jalal* (the daily account of Mullah Jalal) which also includes the events of the court of Shah Abbas (I), edited by Saif Ullah Vahid neya, Vahid publication first ed. Tehran 1364 A.D. p.19

   In the same book, on page 26, it has been mentioned that Khwaja Ali dreamt of Imam Muhammad Taqi, the ninth Imam of Shiite sect, who instructed him to guide the people of Dezful towards the right path. He went there for this purpose, but the people of that city did not pay any heed to him. There fore, he showed his miracle and stopped, for eleven days and nights the flow of the water of Dezfoul river. When the people saw this wonder, they embraced Shiite Sect. All the people admitted that Ali ibn Abu Talib was the spiritual Caliph and the successor to prophet Muhammad. Satisfied with their behaviour, Khwaja Ali made water of the river run.

   In the same book it has also been written that when Timur returned from Ottoman empire, after defeating Sultan Ildiram, in 806 A.H/1403 A.D. he stayed at Ardbil and met Khwaja Ali. When he saw this wonder of Khwaja Ali, he paid him great regard and respect. See : *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Safavia* (the genealogy of Safavi dynasty). IranShahr publication, Berlin (Germany) 1344 A.D. pp.47-48.

   In the book, namely *Jahangosha-i-Khagan* (the word conqueror king) edited by Allah Datta muztar, published by Markaz-i-Tahqiqat-i-Farsi-i-Iran, Pakitan, Islambad, 1986 A.D., p.33, it has been written that Khwaja Ali advised his disciples to "*restrict their activities as the time had reached when a the restorer of Shiism, the right creed, would appear and that they should continue their efforts.*"

2. The Europeon traveller, Marino Sanato cites Walter Hints who writes about the monastery of Ardbil and the Sufis who lived there: "They live in perfect piety. Not only that they are highly respected in Iran, they also compel homage in Turkey, Barbary and Syria".

   See: *Tashkil-i-Daulat-i-Milli-Dar Iran, Hukumat-i-Aq Quyunlu Ya Zohur-i-Daulati-Safavi*, The organization of National Government of Persia, the rule of Aq Quyunlu and the rise of Safavi government, Persian translation by Key Kaus Jahandari, Kharazmi publication, 2nd ed. Tehran 1261 A.H. p.11.

Sultan Junaid

Sultan Junaid, son of Sheikh Ibrahim, was appointed the spiritual head of the Safavi Order in 851 A.H/1447 A.D. As soon as he assumed this spiritual office, the Safavi movement witnessed a drastic and significant turning point in its course. In the beginning after taking charge of his office, he showed inclination to play an authoritarian role and rule as a sovereign. Together with this, he also realized that the title, "Sheikh" was much below his dignity and is not commensurate with the good he aimed at. He, therefore, substituted "Sultan" for it. As he had other ambitions as well, he did not stop here and in order to gain political power as well he exhorted his disciples to make holy war against the infidels. He was prompted to take recourse to this measure because he was very apprehensive of his cousin, Ja'far whom he considered his rival and a great stumbling block. Sheikh Ja'far was a potential threat to him as he happened to be much senior to him in age, far superior in knowledge Abut religious sciences and had great influence over the disciples of the Safavi order. Sheikh Ja'far, too in the heart of his hearts, cherished the desire to depose him from his seat on some pretext so that he might have the lion's share himself. Besides, the activities of Sheikh Junaid, among his Anatolian disciples who regularly came to pay their homage to him, made him a suspect in the eyes of Jahan Shah Qara Quyunlu, who ruled the Western part of Persia and whose dominance extended from Azarbayjan province to the border of Georgia, including the Persian Gulf area.

As Jahan Shah had married his daughter to the son of Sheikh Ja'far, he was expected to support the cause of his son-in-law's father so that the Sheikh might be deprived of his seat.

At this juncture, the important question arises : how did it come to pass that the Safavi order which since the days of Sheikh Safi, had confined itself exclusively to mystic practices and rituals and its followers had been leading a monastic life at Ardabail, changed the course plunged all of a sudden into the vortex of political activities?

If Junaid had taken some other line of action to deal with his strong-headed opponents he could have gained popularity among the Sufis of the Safavi order. There is no denying the fact that the symptoms of shiism had been visible since the days of Khwaja Ali, which meant a deep devotion to Ali bin Abu Talib, whose one aspect of life was to make holy wars against the infidels for the promotion and propagation of Islam. But Junaid asked his followers to go on war compaigns for the cause of religion.

It was, however, difficult to understand the meaning of fighting with the infidels and going on holy war campaigns, to those disciples who were always engaged in prayers and recitation of the Glorious Quran. It was now imperative for Jonaid to appear in such a religious guise as might be acceptable to all and that none could raise a voice and muster up courage to take exception to his proposal. He fascinated with his elegent speeches, left his audience spellbound and his charming manners won the heart of his disciples who were ready to help him in the fulfillment of his ambitions. He had been successful in his designs

and his disciples as a result, placed him on a much higher pedestal of reverence and went so far as to attribute divinity to him.[1]

This much reverence which the disciples of Sheikh Junaid showed to him clearly points to his belonging to the Shiit Sect. They also believed in incarnation. Without any reason they unwittingly allowed themselves to be enslaved unconditionally by the charismatic personality of Sheikh Junaid to the extent that, out of this sterling faith in him, they could sacrifice eveb their life.

Sheikh Junaid used religion as a tool for obtaining political power. Cashing in mainly on the intellectual deficiency of his disciples, he persuaded them to believe him as their Saviour. As Sheikh Junaid was fully conscious that he could crush his adversaries with the help of his zealous disciples, he therefore taught them through his percepts and practice that discipleship lay in unconditional and unqualified obedience to the dictates of this spiritual guide and if need be they would not hesitate in sacrificing this life for their spiritual master. When he had prepared this ground he exhorted his followers to adopt shiite sect and provoked them to make holy war against infidels.[2] Thus he filled the minds of those Sufis who belonged to the Safavi order with bellicosity.

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1. Fazllullah son of Ruzbahan Khunji, the scribe and the historiographer of Ya'qub Beg Aq Quyunlu writes; "the ignorant people of Rum, who were looked down upon for their deviated ways and were said to belong to the demons brigade of fancy addressed Sheikh Junaid as Allah and named his son (Sheikh Haidar) as the son of Allah. Junaid was killed in the battle field. When his disciples saw his dead body smeared in blood they were reciting. "There is no god, but one God, (and) he is living." Their ignorance and stupidity had reached the extent that, if somebody attributed death to Sheikh Junaid he did not drink the syrup of life any more and if some person called that even a grain of his existence had been spoiled, his whole harvest was thrown to the winds of mortality." See : *Alam Ara-i-Amini* Vol.I, fol.264, and vol.II fol.265.

2. The infidels, in this context, refer to those Christians who lived in Circassia (Qirqizistan), Georgia and Shiivan provinces.

The rallying of Sufis round Junaid in large numbers and his belligerent attitude and activities caused anxiety in the mind of Jahan Shah Qaraquyunlu. As a consequence he asked Sheikh Junaid to disperse his army to the region where he would retire and live in seclusion. He also sternly warned that if he did not obey him, he would not only ruin the city of Ardbil, but also make general massacre there.[1]

This warning worked and Sheikh Junaid shifted from Ardbil to Anatolia accompanied by some sufis of the Safavi order. He had chosen that place as his refuge for the reason that the Muslims of Shiite sect had been residing there already in very large numbers and he could easily preach his mission there, Marino Santo, the historiographer of Venice who had visited Anatolia fifty years after the migration of Sheikh Junaid from Ardbil, has recorded his daily account from the beginning of the year 1496 upto September 1532 and published it in thirty volumes. He has made a reference to the religions of the people of Anatolia and states that four-fifths of Turkish speaking people coming from Asia were Shiites and had great reverence for the Safavis.[2]

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1. *Alam Ara-i-Shah Ismail,* edited by Asghar Muntazir Saheb, Bongah-i-Tarjoma-o-Nashr-i-Kitab, 1349 A.H./1970 A.D., pp. 22-23. Hasan Rumulu writes:
Jahan Shah sent a message to Ja'far, father of his son-in-law, to the effect that he should banish Junaid from Ardbil. *Ahsan ut Tawarikh,* vol.II, p.407.
Amir Mahmud Khand Mir writes: "Jahan Shah gave the order that Junaid should go out of Ardabil and be permitted to go where-ever he "likes".
Qazi Ahmad Qummi repeats the same event in *Kholasat ut Tawarikh* by Qazi Ahmad bin Sharafuddin Hasaini-i-Qummi, edited by Ihsan-i-Ishraqi, University of Tehran publication, Vol.I, 1359 A.H/1970 A.D., and Vol.II, 1363 A.H./1989 A.D., (p.34) and adds: "After turning out Junaid from Ardbil, the holy Safavi Shrine was handed over to his uncle, Sheikh Ja'far with whom Junaid had always been at loggerheads.

2. Pigolu Sukaya, *History of Iran,* p.475.

Junaid continued preaching his mission in Asia Minor and Syria, but was expelled from there after a few years by the authorities. But, ultimately he was given refuge at Diyarbakr by uzun Hasan Aqquyunlu, one of the rank adversaries of Jahanshah Qaraquyunlu. Three years (860-863 A.H/1456-59 A.D) later he married Khadija Bigum, sister of uzun Hasan, an important event in the Safavi dynasty, because this matrimonial alliance contributed a lot to bring closer the political relations between the Safavis and the Sunnit Aq Quyunlu families. These family relations not only played a significant role in the formation of the destiny of Safavi dynasty upto the time of Shah Ismail I (grandson of Junaid) but also raised the social status of Junaid at Anatolia and Syria, who won a large number of disciples there.[1]

In the year 864 A.H/1459 A.D., Junaid organised a force numbering ten thousand armed men and marched towards Shirvan on the pretext of making holy war against the infidels of Circassia. He wanted to capture that region for its proximity to Ardbil;[2] his powerful ancestral base, from where he could attack the neighbouring regions. But, in the meantime Ja'far, his uncle, wrote a letter[3] to Khalil Shirvan Shah, and informed him that Junaid was not entitled to the

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1. Hasan Rumelu writes, that he lived there for four years, see *Ahsan ut Tawarikh*, p.208. Iskandar Beg Munshi, writes, that he stayed in that region for a while. See: *Tarikh-i-Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, edited by Iraj Afshar, published in two volumes by Amir Kabir, Tehran, 1350 A.H (1971 A.D) p.18.

2. Fazal Ullah Ruzbhan Khunji, writes about this event, that the successors of ancient Sheikhs (the spiritual guides) felt it an honour to be present before him for service and paid him their regard and respect in a grand measure. *Alam-Ara-i-Amini*, fol,265.

3. Hasan Rumlu writes that Sheikh Ja'far wrote in a letter to Khalil Shirvanshah that Junaid was neither entitled to the spiritual guidance of the people nor was he the successor to Sheikh Safi and that it was in his interest to repulse him and that he also went to make war against Junaid. See. *Ashan ut Tawarikh*, p.408.

succession of Shah Safi. At the same time, Jahan Shah Qaraquyunlu, felt threatened by the excessive and ever increasing power of Junaid. He therefore, sent a force to help Khalil Shirvan Shah. A fierce battle took place[1] on the 10th of the month of Jamadi ul Awwal 864 A.H. (5th March 1459) in which Junaid was defeated and killed.[2]

Sultan Junaid gave up the ghost in the battlefield, but his death could not dampen the spirit of the Safavi movement and they still stroved to secure political power. The pace of this movement was accelerated by Haidar, his son, who was declared his successor. Sheikh Haidar, after his father's death, was looked after by his prudent and brave maternal uncle, uzun Hasan Beg. Hasan Beg, after vanquishing Jahan Shah Qara Quyunlu in 872 A.H/1667 A.D. shifted his capital to Tabriz and at the same time, he sent Sheikh Haidar, under his direct supervision, to Ardbil.[3] At that time he was a nine year old child.

The constant support of uzun Hasan to Sheikh Haidar and above all, the marriage of his daughter Marta with him, did not only eliminate his uncle Sheykh Ja'far, his heir apparent, but also allowed the disciples of his father to

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1. Hasan Rumlu, Ibid, p.407. Qazi Ahmad Ghaffari Kashani writes that Junaid was killed in 860 A.H. (1455 A.D) See: *Tarikh-i-Jaha Ara,* published by Hafiz book centre, Tehran, 1343 A.D/1964 A.D., p.262.

2. Iskander Beg Munshi, writes: "Junaid drank the syrup of martyrdom in the battle field from the hand of the cup-bearer of Chance. *Tarikh-i-Alam Ara-i-Abbasi,* p.18.
In the book, entitled *Alam Ara-i-Shah Ismail* is written that Junaid was killed in the battle field. p.25.
Hasan Rumlu writes that Junaid was killed with an arrow, p.409. Ghayas Ud din Khand Mir writes that "his holiness was arrested by his enemies and he drank the syrup of martyrdom by the order of Shirvan Shah See. *Habib Us Siyar,* Vol.3 p.426.

3. Fazl Ullah Ruzbahan writes, "In spite of the fact that he was a young child, but was made to sit on the seat of spiritual guidance but he was given the charge of the hospice of the monastery of Ardbil (where his disciples congregated to perform their religious rituals for forty days). See: *Alam Ara-i-Amini,* fol.272.

pay their homage to him. They came from different parts of Asia Minor, Syria and Talesh.[1] Sheikh Haidar, during his stay at Ardbil for ten years increased the number of his disciples. Together with this, under the protection of uzun Hasan, he remarkably succeeded in propagating his sectarian ideas among his disciples.

The disciples, who came from Anatolia with their gifts and offerings to their Safavi Sheikh at Ardbil were increasing in number day by day. As their uninterrupted influx continued throughout the year, a settlement of these disciples called Anatliha sprang up.

The Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II, in spite of all his resourcefulness, vast empire and powerful army felt insecure and the presence of these disciples living within his territory agitated his mind. When their Sunni neighbours asked them to make holy pilgrimage to Mecca, and visit the sacred Shrine of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), they replied that they went to Ardbil to visit the living beings, not the dead ones. During the reign of Bayazid II, Shiism flourished in a greater measure than ever, in Anatolia. This situation sowed the seed of Shiism in Sheikh Haidar who was more fanatic than his father in this respect. He introduced such a bad and uncalled for innovations among his disciples the consequences of which proved injurious to the Muslims all over the world, particularly to the Persians of the neighbouring countries, Ottoman Turks and Uzbeks.

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1. Her other names were Halima Begum Agha and Alamshah Begum. Ghayas Uddin Khand Mir has called her the queen-mother Halima Begi Agha, See: *Habib-us-Siyar,* Vol.3, p.427.
Uzun Hasan' writes this daughter was born of his Greek wife, named Daspina Katrina.

The introduction of the Haidaria sect among the Shiite Muslims was his innovation. He also instructed his disciples to treat Sunni Muslims as their enemy.[1] Contrary to the practice and percept of his an master, Sheikh Safi Uddim who had combined Islamic law (Sharia't) and mystic practices (tariqat) he preached "non-conformis" among his followers and absolved them of the performance of religions obligations.[2]

Sheikh Haidar first introduced heretical concepts in Islamic faith and then organised his disciples under one banner. They later served him as military force in the numerous battles which he fought. His disciples usually used the cap called Taqia-i-Turkman.[3] But, he designed for them a particular headgear of red colour, surrounded by twelve petals, like those of a rose symoblizing twelve Imams, the successcors of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) as

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1. He imbued the mind of his followers with this idea that the reward of murdering a Muslim of Sunni sect was tantamounnt to killing five infidels in the battle field. Marriage in Sunni families was not lawful. There was no harm in shedding their blood, and siezing their property was permitted. It was obligatory to tear the womb of Sunni pregnant women and kill a Sunni male child at the point of the spear, selling and purchasing of Sunni Muslims was legitimate, because they did not come in the category set by Islam for free Muslims. Calling five times prayers, observing fasts, performing holy pilgrimage to Mecca and paying alms (Prescribed by Islam) were not compulsory, because whatever good deeds were done by Sunnis, the reward thereof would go to the followers of Haidari sect. For further information, See: *Inqilab-ul-Islam bain Al Khas-i-Wal'am* (Islamic revolution among nobles and plebeians) by Muhammad Mutarjem (the Byzantine Sage) alias Ispinagchi PashaZadah. MS. Copy of National Library Tehran, No.1634. Scribed in 1307 A.H., fol. 33.

2. Fazlullah Ruzbahan Khunji writes that "People from Rum, Talesh and Siyah Kuh (Qaraja dagh) gathered round his calvacade. All of them believed that he was a deity. They had given up all the religious rituals, believed that his face was their Qiblah (the direction to which Muslims turn their face at the time of performing their prayers) and therefore prostrated before him. He also propagated much about non-conformism and introduced those trends which were observed by the people called *Khurramian-i-Babaki*. See : *Alam Ara-i-Amini*, fol.274.

3. It was a long conical cap also used by dervishes. See. *Farhang-i-Farsi* (Persian Dictionary) compiled by Dr. Muhammad Muin, Amir Kabir publication institute, Tehran, 1364 A.H. (1985 A.D), vol.II, p.2201.

leaders of Islam. He named it Taj-i-Haidari,[1] the crown or headgear of Haidar to be called later Kulah-i-Qazelban (red hat).[2]

It was at this point of time that the Ardbil monastery started humming with political activities and belligerent dynamism. As has been mentioned earlier, after the death of Sheikh Haider in the battlefield on 20th of the month of Rajab 894 A.H./9th July, 1488, not only the spiritual morale of his disciples was not shaken, but on th contrary, the martial spirit was boosted up further among them. Under that situation, Sheikh Haider's son, Ismail (the founder of Safavi dynasty) who was eight years old at that time was chased by his enemies. The seven other Sufis called *"Ahl-i-Ikhtisas"* (the close associates) were also the target. Ismail being the last ray of their hopes and on whom based the foundation of an independent state, so all of them escaped to Lahijan, the city

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1. *Alam Ara-i-Safavi*, edited by Yad Ullah Shukri, Bunyad-i-Farhangi-Iran, Tehran, 1350 A.H/1971 A.D, p.30 and Allah Datta, *Jahangasha-i-Khaqan*, p.42.

2. Qazilbash, is a compound Turkish word, meaning red head or red-headed ("Qazil" is red and "bash" gives the meaning of head). It was conical of red felt, surrounded by twelve petals, round which a turban white or green, silken or woollen, was wrapped. As most of the disciples of Sheikh Haider were Ottoman Turks, and used the red head gear, designed by him, therefore his disciples in Turkish were called Qazilbash.

   Muhammad Yusuf Valih-i-Isfahani, writes, "the mundane Kingship became spiritual kingdom and the Torkamanian headgear turned into imperial crown."

   See : Valih Isfahani, *Khuld-i-Barin* and *Iran dar ruzgar-i-Safavian* edited by Mir Hashim Muhaddis, published by Dr. Mahmud Afshar Yazdi, under literary and historical publications, Tehran, 1373 A.H. (1994 A.D.) p.53.

   He made this innovation to upset all the traditional customs by telling his disciples his dream which he saw one night that the proclaimers had announced that (the angels) in the invisible world had been appointed to design a headgear of red cloth, containing twelve Imams, so the heads of his followers could be adorned with them. The compiler of *Jahangusha-i-Khaqan* writes on page 42, that Sheikh Haidar, one night saw Aii, the leader of the pious ones, who suggested to him : "Make the headgears for sufis and your disciples of red cloth". His holiness had a pair of scissors in his hand, he made the design of the head-gear and set twelve petals on it", when Sultan Haidar woke up from his sleep, he had that design in his mind, and prepared a headgear on the same pattern."

where Sheikh Zahid of Gilan and Sheikh SafiUddin Ardbili had already stayed. Now this Lahijan offered them asylum.[1]

At that time, Lahijan was governed by Karakega Mirza one of the disciples of Sheikh Safiuddin,[2] a fanatic Shiite and a strict follower of Haidaria order. The young child, Ismail was kept under the tutelage of ShamsUddin Lahijani, who very carefully looked after Ismail till his twentieth year.

At the same time, the mutual bickerings of several chiefs of Aqquyunlu tribes developed into constant wars among themselves. Ismail took[3] advantage of this situation and, in consultation with the associate Sufis,[4] marched from Lahijan towards Tabriz in the middle of the month of Muharram 905 A.H./1499 A.D., with the proclamation: "I have been appointed by the celestial world and I am bound to carry out this mission."[5]

It is also worth mentioning here that, when Ismail proceeded from Lahijan towards Tabriz, he was accompanied by his seven disciples. He came to

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1. These close associates were:
1. Husain Beg Lalah (the tutor), 2. Abdul Beg Dadah (the instructor), 3. Khadim Beg Khalifa, 4. Rustam Beg Qaramalu, 5. Bayram Beg Qaramalou, 6. Ilyas Beg Ighut Oghli (Khanslu) and 7. Qarapiri Beg Qajar, See *Habib Us Siyar*, Vol.3, pp. 467-68.

2. Iskandar Beg the compiler of *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* writes: Amir Keya (Karkeya Mirza Ali) was one of the disciples of Sheikh Safi and was sincerely devoted to the Sheikh", p.39.

3. Ispinaqchi The compiler of *Inqilab-ul-Islam Bain Al khas-i-Wala'm,* writes that, Karkeya Mirza Ali, ruler of Lahijan belonged to the group called Haidari (pertaining to Haidar) and was sincerely devoted to that order. He looked after Shah Ismail with full care and taught him all the principles and doctrines of Haidaria order, p.40.

4. He put this proposal to the group of the holy warriors, devoted sincerely to him, *Habib Us Seyar* by Ghayas Uddin Khand Mir, p.43 and Qazi Ahmad, p.47.

5. *Takmilat Ol Akhbar* by Abdi Beg Navidi Shirazi, Vol.vi, photo copy of the Ms. Kitab Khana-i-Markazi-i-Danishgah-i-Tehran (central Library of the University of Tehran), no.4626, fol.577.

Daylam and then reached Tarim. In the meantime several groups of Sufis, coming from the Ottoman empire and Syria also [1]joined him.[2] This amply bears out that Ismail, before leaving Lahijan, had sent his messengers to those different regions where his disciples lived. It might be premised that he must have apprised them of his itinerary so that they could join him on the way. It is also interesting to note that his disciples came from the Ottoman empire and Syria, whereas the natives of Gilan, Daylam and even the local people of Azarbayjan, where Ardabil, the central base of Sufis was located, were neither attached to him nor were prepared to sacrifice their lives for his cause. This is also to be noted that the object of Ismail's revolt at Lahijan was not to fulfill the longcherished desire of the Persians to get independence and get rid of dominance of foreign rule, but, as he was self-centred, he was exclusively thinking in his own interest. Malice and lust for power egged him on to avenge the death of his brother, father and grandfather. Besides, he proposed to establish such an independent state where he could impose the tenets of Haidari order, a branch of Shiite sect. His ambition was to complete the work, which was left unfinished by his father and grandfather. His other object was to combine both religious and political powers and keep both of them in his hand. It should also be pointed out here that out of his seven disciples, with the exception of the Persian Abdul Ali Beg Dadah all were Turks from Anatolia. They were his advisors and held the reins of power in their hands by reducing Ismail to a mere puppet.

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1. *Jahangusha-i-Khagan*, p.89, *Rumlu Ahsan ut Tawarikh*, p.26.

2. The Sufis who joined Ismail at Tarim were fifteen hundred. See: Allah Datta, Ibid, p.9.

SHAH ABBAS - I (996-1038 A.H/1588-1629 A.D)

Circumstances leading to the accession of Shah Abbas I: Abbas Mirza, who was crowned as the King of Persia in the year 996 A.H. (1587 A.H was born at Herat the provincial capital of Khurasan, in the holy month of Ramazan[1] (978 A.H/1571 A.D), His father, Muhammad Mirza commonly known as Sultan Muhammad Khuda Banda[2] (985-999 A.D./1571-1587 A.D) was the eldest son of Shah Tahmasb Safavi and one of the grandsons of Shah Ismail I, founder of the Safavi dynasty. His mother Khair ul Nisa Begum[3] entitled Mahd-i-ulya (the grand lady, queen mother) was the daughter of Mir Abdullah Khan,[4] governor of Mazandran. She was married to Muhammad Mirza in 974

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1. For further information about the geographic condition of that city, See: *Rauzat Ul Jannat Fi Ausaf-i-Madinat-i-Herat,* compiled by Muin Uddin Muhammad Alzamji al Asfazari, edited by Muhammad Ishaq. Published by Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh, printed by N.M. Shah at Rupasree Press (Pvt.) Ltd. 9, Anthony Bagan Lane, Calcutta.

2. Shah Muhammad was born in 938 A.H. (1531 A.D.), during the 8th year of Shah Tahmasb's reign . He was declared sovereign of Persia in 985 A.H. (1577 A.D.) when he was 47 years old. His contemporary historians have admired his generosity and high mindedness. He was also a great patron of learning, himself composed poems under the noma de plume *Fahmi*. In Poetry, he was much inclined towards satire and witticism. Iskandar Beg The compiler of *Tarikh-i-Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* has written that he was entitled Khuda Banda (Slave of God) during his childhood, while other historians are of the opinion that he was known by this title when he became blind and kept himself, most of the time, busy in prayers and other religious rituals, Vol,I, p.226.

3. Khair ul Nisa Begum had two sons. The elder was Hamza Mirza and the younger was Abbas Mirza.

4. Mir Abdullah Khan, maternal grandfather of Abbas Mirza, was contemporary of Shah Tahmasp I. He had been the hereditary ruler of the province of Mazandaran since 939 A.H. (1532 A.D) and ruled over some part of that province. After some time, his cousin, Mir Sultan Murad Mir Shahi claimed to be the ruler of that region and a number of people of that province also supported his cause. As Shah Tahmasab did not like Mir Abdullah Khan, he favoured Sultan Murad and divided the province into two parts. Finally Mir Abdullah Khan was killed by Sultan Murad. After that on the direction of Shah Tahmasb, Abdullah Khan's daughter Khair ul Nisa was married to his elder son Muhammad Mirza, and his second son Hasan Mirza was appointed ruler of the region which was claimed by Mir Abdullah Khan as his hereditary property.

A.D. (1566 A.D.) on the direction of Shah Tahmasp. She accompanied her husband on his way to Herat to take charge of the province of Khurasan[1] as governor for the second time.[2]

As Sultan Muhammad Khuda Banda had very poor eyesight, which ultimately resulted in his total blindness, and could not manage the affairs of the politically important city of Herat, Khair-ul nisa Begum gradually got the upper hand and looked after the administration. But her policies antagonised the majority of Qazilbashid Chief of different clans.[3] The geographic condition of Herat, at that time immediately demanded the maintenance of peace, law and order. It was decided that her eldest son, Hamza Mirza should be appointed to the government of the city. In those days, Abbas Mirza was living in Herat, as deputy to his brother, Hamza Mirza. As per tradition the government of Herat was usually given to the eldest son. In the meantime the government of the province of Fars was given to Muhammad Mirza who liked Hamza Mirza to stay with him. Shah Tahmasb, therefore permitted the child Abbas Mirza, to stay at Herat.

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1. Muhammad Mirza was appointed the ruler of Herat in 943 A.D. (1536 A.D) at the time when he was only 6 years old. See: *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* Vol.I, p.125.

2. One of the missionaries, who had got access to the royal court at Qazvin, wrote in his report about Sultan Muhammad Khuda Banda that when he came to Qazvin from Shiraz, he was 45 or 46 years old. his hair had turned grey, which he dyed along with his beard. He was of moderate height and had very weak eyesight. He could not see anything when he looked downward, but when he looked upward he could behold. See: *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia, and the papal Mission of the XVII and XVIII centuries*, London 1939, two vol.I, p.46.

3. Valih Isfahani, *Khuld-i-barin*, pp. 583-592.

As Abbas Mirza was not of age, he lived in Herat and needed guardians to look after him. With this object in view, Ali Quli Khan Shamlu,[1] Murshid Quli Khan Ustajlu and Murtaza Quli Khan Parnak were appointed as his tutors and guardians. Ali Quli Shamlu served as his tutor,[2] while Murshid Quli Khan Ustajlu, being a close relation of the prince, looked after the child. Murtaza Quli Khan administered Mash-had,[3] on behalf of the young prince. The presence of these powerful Qazilbash[4] nobles around Abbas Mirza caused a great consternation at the royal court at Qazvin. As a result a strong contingent was despatched to Herat to curtail their powers but, as luck would have it, was defeated.

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1. Shah Ismail II gave the government of Herat to Ali Quli Khan Shamlu and apart from conferring the title of Amir-ul-Umara (the chief of the nobles) on him, he appointed him governor general of some part of Khurasan province. He also instructed secretly Ali Quli Shamlu to eliminate the young prince, Abbas Mirza, immediately after reaching Herat. (It had become customary with the Safavi rulers to kill easily their male children, blind them, confine in prison house or in the seclusion of female apartments). But, when Ali Quli Khan reached Herat, he avoided to eliminate the young prince for several reasons. One of them was that his mother, Khan Khahnm had served as the governess of Hamza Mirza and his children. As she was loyal to the royal family, therefore, she advised her son not to eliminate the young prince. Besides, the sudden death of Shah Ismail II, also provided a reason for avoiding to kill the child. It is also worth mentioning here, that the Uzbeks were restrained to attack Persia, on its Eastern border, in case any Safavi prince was holding a gubernatorial office there or was ruling that province.

2. Usually the Safavi prince were given under the tutelage of any Qazilbashi noble at a very tender age Ali Quli Khan Shamlu held this office during the reign at Shah Ismail II. Qazilbashi tribes who served as tutors were: (1) Rumlu, (2) Shamlu, (3) Ustajlu, (4) Takallu, (5) Zulqadr, (6) Afshar, (7) Qajar, (8) Varsaq and (9) Sufian-i-Qarabagh.

3. One of the cities of Khurasan province, which is still the capital of that province.

4. Qazilbash or the wearer of red headgear, came from Turkish clans. They persuaded Sultan Haidar, particularly his son Shah Ismail I, Safavi to adopt Shiite sect of Islam and supported him in his struggle to gain power as the ruler of Persia. As the members of these clans used red headgear, they were called Qazilbash. Sultan Haidar, son of Sultan Junaid chose the arched head gear, worn by Turkmans, for Sufis and the disciples of Safavis to distin[illegible] from other persons. As he had added to this hat twelve rose pet[illegible]s, therefore, it served as the symbol of the Safavi dynasty.

The young prince was merely a titular ruler. The nobles were the de fecto rulers and all authority and power vested in them. They were simply toying with the young prince for their own political intrests and ulterior motives. They had grown so powerful that even the Royal court at Qazvin failed to intimidate them. The defeat of the royal army at Herat taught them a lesson. Better reason prevailed and the nobles of royal court were advised to make compromise with the chiefs of Shamlu clan, who had great hold over the young prince.

Untoward occurrences on the border of Azarbayjan province, assasination of Hamza Mirza and total failure of Sultan Muhammad Khuda Banda in the administrative affairs of the state, led the Qazilbashi chiefs to think over the situation, particularly at a time when the eastern frontier of Persia was also witnessing political upheavals. Under these circumstances Khuda Banda declared Abu Talib Mirza, his son, as his successor and went with him to Isfahan. He also wrote letters to the effect that Abbas Mirza should be brought to him from Herat. In the meantime, besides the families of Ustajalu and Shamlu, Turkmans of Iraq too, who were supposed to be supporters of Abbas Mirza, took advantage of the absence of Sultan Muhammad from Qazvin, the capital, and proceeded towards that city with a large number of Abbas Mirza's supporters. The prince, along with Murshid Quli Khan, entered the city on the 11th of the month of Ziqa'dah 996 A.D. (23rd Sept. 1587) and was received warmly by Quruqmash Khan, governor of the city. The news of all these goings on also reached those chiefs who supported the cause of Khuda Banda. As they realized that the things were in favour of Abbas Mirza, they secretly proceeded

towards Qazvin from Isfahan. But, they did not know what was in store for them, that it was their misfortune which was leading them and that they would be killed by Abbas Mirza in retaliation of their teaching to his father.

Abbas Mirza, at that time, was 18 years old. Murshid Quli Khan was appointed *Wakil ul Sultanate* (the regent of the Sultanate) who took the charge of the affairs of the state.

After a few days, in the same year, the ceremonies of accession of Abbas Mirza were performed at Qazvin in the presence of his father who entitled him *Zil ul lah* (shadow of God) Abbas Bahadur Khan. Abut this event, Iskandar Beg Turkman wrote:

> "....(As His Majesty, Sultan Muhammad Khuda Banda) of the glory of Alexander being piqued with the unfavourable circumstances of the time and the conflicts of this perishable world, was in search of tranqullity and seclusion, became highly pleased and showed extreme delight at seeing his son being supported by felicity. He abdicated in his favour from the seat of sovereignty and adorned his exalted blissful head - touching the two stars in the Ursa Minor - with flashing crown."[1]

When Abbas Mirza, to be (called Shah Abbas henceforward and be referred to with the same title in the pages that follow) acceded to the throne of Persia in

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1. Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* Vol.I, p.371.

996 A.H/1586 A.D. the country was passing through a very crucial period of its history Apparently the internal disorder bred there chaotic conditions but if we look deep, we will find the benevolence of Sultan Muhammad khuda Banda responsible for this political imbalance on the one hand and the internal bickerings of different tribes on the other. Each one of them had a lust for power. The Qazilbashis were playing a very significant role. In the beginning they were considered the most powerful supporters of the Safavis in their war campaigns. But, later they changed their mind, and their devotion to the Safavi dynasty seemed to boil down gradually. Thus their support to the Safavi dynasty turned out to be mere nominal.

Besides, Shah Abbas was also confronted with the challenging posture of the Ottoman empire on the North West frontier of Persia. They had occupied all those provinces which bordered the country. In the Eastern part, the Uzbeks had created troubles. They had ransacked almost half of the area of the province of Khurasan.

The limited means at the disposal of Shah Abbas did not permit him to meet all the challenges; therefore, he had to pick up some and tackle them on the basis of priority. He, first paid his attention to the maintenance of law and order within the country, reoriented the military organisation and renewed the revenue system of the country. His other step was to take measures so as to expel the Uzbeks from Khurasan and last but not least, he resolved to recapture the territories which the Ottomans had occupied.

Shah Abbas had realized that if he succeeded in maintaining internal peace, disciplined the army and boosted up the morale of his soldiers he could

fight against his two great enemies, i.e. the Ottomans and the Uzbeks. As the Uzbeks were the weaker enemy, he determined to deal with them first. He took a very strategic but decisive step in 998 A.H./1590 A.D, to curb the Uzbeks; he effected a peace treaty with the Ottomans according to the terms and conditions of which he surrendered all the bordering provinces, namely Azarbayjan[1] Qara bagh, Ganja, Qaraja Daqh, parts of Georgia, Lurestan and Kurdistan. This humiliating treaty clearly indicates the extent of weakness of the Safavi dynasty at the time of Shah Abbas's accession to the throne.

Internal situation of the country and the policy adopted by Shah Abbas.

For the purpose of settling the problems of internal chaos and confusion, Shah Abbas was looking for a suitable opportunity to get rid of the Qazilbashi Chiefs. As mentioned earlier, he knew that he came to the throne after overthrowing his own father, who had been the legitimate ruler of Persia. He also realized that, if he did not act in accordance with the advice of the Qazilbashi chief they could revolt and depose him.

Some events took place at the time when Shah Abbas was growing up as an administrator, and led him to lose faith in Qazilbashi chiefs. In the year 988 A.H./ 1581 A.D, he did such remarkable deeds which were not expected from a person of his age and it was for that reason that the Qazelbashid chiefs in Khurasan placed him on the royal throne in spite of the fact that he did not like it to take the form of a revolt against his father.

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1. The Safavis, though, had lost a very big part of this province, yet Ardbil, the seat of their political activities, was in their possession. They wanted to have their hold on that city, because of the tomb of Shah Safi.

Ali Quli Khan Shamlu (the selfstyled tutor of Abbas Mirza, ruler of Herat) wanted to unite all the Qazilbashi chiefs in Khurasan in order to support the cause of Abbas Mirza whereas Murshid Quli Khan Ustajlu, ruler of Mashad who had a lust for power, did not want to accept any position inferior to that of Ali Quli Khan. In the power struggle between the two Chiefs, Abbas Mirza held an extremely precarious position. Thus the two chiefs finally fought in the year 993 A.H / 1585 A.D. and Abbas Mirza was made captive by the commanders of Murshid Quli Khan, who brought him to Mashad. As Abbas Mirza had been brought up in the clan of Shamlus, he did not approve of such incidents (because his mother, the queen, had fallen a prey to the intrigues of Qazilbashi chiefs in 987 A.H/1579 A.D. and his brother, Hamza Mirza met the same fate in 994 A.H/1585 A.D) As Murshid Quli Khan had secured enormous power, and looked after the affairs of the state in the early days of the accession of Abbas Mirza to the throne of Persia, he had assumed an air of sovereignty and issued many mandates without bringing them to the notice of the King. He misused and abused his powers and conferred a number of key posts at the royal court on his kith and Kin. He even appointed the grand Vizir of his own choice and accorded him the title of *Itemad ud Daulah* (trustworthy of the state i.e., the prime minister). He exceeded his limits so much that in the year 997 A.H./1588 A.D. he sent Abu Talib Mirza, brother of the king and his two nephews, Ismail Mirza and Wahid Mirza (sons of Hamza Mirza) to the Alamut fort, where Tahmasp Mirza, another brother of the king had already been kept in custody. This measure he took to keep the kith and kin of the king away from the capital seat of the empire. Besides, he also seized the property owned by the brothers of the king.

Such high handedness of Murshid Quli Khan led the king to settle this problem so that he might get rid of this powerful chief. Hence, at this juncture, let us pause for a moment and analyse the political set up of the Safavis before going deep into the pros and cons of this complicated problem.

Basically the Safavis were Sufis without any political complexion or inherent political ambition. Their involvement in politics is a later development. Their spiritual excellence coupled with political ardour proved conducive to the expansion of their power and authority. In mysticism, spiritual guide (murshid) is the centre of all power and authority, a symbol of perfection and both a centripetal and centrifugal force. The disciple (Murid) is bound to carry out his order without questioning. The concept of spiritual succession (Vilayat) in Islam is very much related to Shiism, Mysticism could not escape the impact of this concept.[1] The disciples of Safavi order, gave their spiritual guide the status of an Imam, the descendent of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). This concept of Imam common to both Shiism and mysticism brought the two very close. Their disciples, besides having accepted the Safavis as their perfect spiritual guide *(Murshid-i-Kamil)*, also recognised them as their legitimate

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1. Mysticisn and Shiism both based their political views on the following verse of the glorious Qoran : "Obey God, Obey His messanger and his successor. (It is still deemed a basic condition for a disciple in mysticism to follow his spiritual preceptor sincerely) As Shah Ismail claimed to be one of the descendents of the prophet on the one hand, and declared himself the spiritual preceptor on the other, he became the combination of these two qualities.
   Sura-i Nisa, Verse 59

temporal rulers.[1] The sincerity and fidelity of their disciples brought them to political belief and power. In a nutshell, spiritualism led them to crown and the throne.

When Shah Ismail ascended the throne, he was not more than thirteen years old, but even the Qazilbashi Sufis regarded him as their religious preceptor in the same way as they had regarded his father Sheikh Junaid and his predecessors. They were obliged and required to obey and abide by his each and every pronouncement without any reluctance. They believed that if someone sacrificed his life for his perfect guide, he discharged a sacred duty which would earn him spiritual reward in the next world. They likened that sacrifice to martyrdom of those Muslims who took part in holy wars with prophet Muhammad.[2] Even an iota of thinking against the will and pleasure of the spiritual guide was blasphemous to them.[3]

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1. In the early days of the reign of Shah Ismail, all his disciples for a short while called him Sufi, as Qazi Ahmad bin Muhammad Qaffari, the compiler of *Tarikh-i-Jahan Ara* (the history of world adorner) writes :

> "... As His holiness, proceeded from Daylamn to Tarim, on the way, the men of courage and the sufis of noble disposition, (belonging) to (different) clans of Rum and Sham (Syria) joined the exalted calvacade with devotion, at every step. When the calvacade of his Holiness alignted at Tarim, they behaved like the armies of memorable victory. Aproximatly one thousand five hundred (in number) devoted Sufis came into the notice of illuminated sight." p.235.

2. The Venetian travellers have written in their accounts that, the disciples of this Sufi, particularly the Soldiers, adored him like God. Some of them went to war without arms. They believed that the name of God would be forgotten throughout the country of Persia, as long as the name of Shah Ismail was on their tongue......extracted from literary History of Persia by E.G. Brown. Vol.III, translated by Rashid, Yasami, Tehran, 1316 A.H/1937 A.d, p.40.

3. *Alam Ara-i-Safavi*, p.74.

Shah Ismail, with the support of such devoted followers occupied, within a very short span of time, the country of Shirwan upto Baku port alongwith some parts of Armenia, took Azarbayjan from Alvand Beg Bayandari, a Turk of Aq-quyunlu clan, ascended the throne at Tabriz, declared Shiism as the religion of state in spite of the fact that a majority of the people of that city followed the Sunni sect. They were forced to convert to Shiism. One night before his accession, some learned men of the Shiite sect went to see him and said "... Your Holiness-may we be ransomed

> for you- the inhabitants of Tabriz, who numbered two to three lakhs, are sunnis all around. Nobody has dared, till now, to call in Khutba *"I witness that Ali is the friend of God"*. We are afraid the people may say that they do not want a Shia king. God forbid, if the people become hostile what can be the remedy in this regard. The king said, "I have been appointed for this task, God, the creator of the universe and the innocent Imams are with me. I am not afraid of any one. By the grace of God, if the people raise voice, I will draw my sword and not leave a single one alive."[1]

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1. See: *Alam Ara-i-Shah Ismail Safavi*, p.60.

Shah Ismail, in his zeal for Shiism declared it the State religion in sheer disregard for the impending problems. He himself was devoid of an adequate knowledge of this sect. Moreover, the books dealing with Shiite jurisprudence[1] were hardly available. This state of affairs landed him in a very difficult situation. In the absence of a constitution under the provisions of which problems could be settled within the Islamic framework, he was compelled in the early days of his reign, to appoint a *Sadr*,[2] the chief first for all the religious matters. The other problem which confronted him was to prove the legitimacy of his government because the Muslims of Shiit sect could not imagine that a perfect spiritual guide was superior to any successor of Ali. Then threats made him see reason and Shah Ismail willy-willy had to surrender to this situation. But, inspite of all that he thwarted all the efforts of the Muslims of Sunni Sect on the one hand and provoked the Sufis against them on the other.

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1. When Shiism was declared the state religion, books related to it were scarce and it was very difficult to solve many juristic problems. Ultimately, Qazi Nasrullah Zaituni produced the first volume of *Qawa'ld ul Islam* (the book of Islamic principles), from his personal collection, one of the compilations of Jamal uddin Muttahar Hilli, which was made the basic text for the teachings of Shiit sect, See: *Ahsan ut Tawarikh* by Hasan Rumlu. edited by Charles Norman Seddon, printed at Calcutta in 1931, p.61.

2. This post, in the Islamic world, is the oldest rank and had priority over all other positions. Shah Ismail, also introduced it in the Safavi dynasty, but before him this institution existed among the rulers of Timuri and Turkman dynasties. For further information on this subject see also the following travellers, accounts: *Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, translated by Abu Turab Nuri, printed by Kitab Khana-i-Sinai. *Engelbert Kampfer* Les Six Voyage.... quila fait en T urquie, en Perse et auxo Indes. (Paris, 1681) translated by kaykaus Jahandari, Tehran Kharazmi 1363 A.H. 0.121. Amoenitatum exoticaram *politico-physico-Medicarum fasciculi* V. (Lemgo, 1712), Pere Mattin Sanson translated by Dr. Tafazzuli, Tehran, 1364 A.H., p.38. *Voyages ou relaton de 1' etet present du royaume de perse.* (Paris, 1695) *Jean Chardin*, translated by Husain Arizi Vol. VIII, Isfahan, 1330 A.H./1951 A.D. p.606 *Jean Chardin Voyages da Chevalier Chandin en Perse et autres Lieux de 1' orient* 10. Bd. (Paris, 1811). See : also *Administrative system during the Safavi period*, by Rohr born, translated by Key Kawus Jahandari, published by Bungah-i-Tarjuma-o-Nashr-i-Ketab. pp.33, 35, 81, 82, 97, 99, 100, 103, 104, 108, 109, 143, 152, 160 and 162.

The ultimate result of this situation was the rise of three rival political groups, in the realm of Safavi government. Each one of them claimed to be the legitimate ruler, for the following three reasons:

Shah Ismail, though a single person, was looked upon with two different aspects: on one hand he was looked upon with reverence by Sufi's as thier perfect spiritual guide and on the other, being a ruler of Muslims of Shah sect, he claimed to be the deputy of Imam Mahdi, the twelfth Imam.

The second was Shah Ismail himself. As he had converted to Shiism and was a strict twelver he was recognised as the legitimate ruler of Muslims. The third group consisted of the Shiite jurists who were also Twelvers and considered themselves the legitimate successor of Mahdi, the twelfth Imam.

As this situation continued, the grip of the Safavis relaxed gradually on their subjects as a result of the loss of their politico sufistic influence. The people believed that the Shiite jurists represented the twelfth Imam in conformity with their sectarian belief. At the same time there were other political obstancles in the way. The defeat of Shah Ismail in Chalduran war, (that took place in 920 A.H./1514 A.D) by Sultan Salim I, the powerful ruler of Ottoman empire was one of them. Before this war Shah Ismail was believed to be an ever-victorious champion of faith. The Qazilbashis had no alternative other than following his order as they believed it to have been imposed upon them by the Divine will. But after this defeat, Shah Ismail did not only lose the support of the Qazilbaglis and their faith in him but he was also deserted by the people at large. The same night when Shah Ismail lost the field in Chalduran, the ruffians plundered the houses of Qazilbashis and started to kill them. After this defeat Shah Ismail, too, did not make for Tabriz but as he was wounded he escaped to Dargazin.

He was very much afriad[1] of the ruffians, particularly those called *Yatim*,[2] as they were reputed to be wrestlers, hostile, and had a strong hold over that city.

The measure of Qazilbashis' support to Shah Ismail gradually declined during the reign of his successor, Shah Abbas I whom these Qazilbashis were reluctant to accept even as their perfect spiritual guide, for the obvious reason that he had seized power in the lifetime of his father. Shah Abbas I was himself afraid and was haunted by the fear psychosis that he could be overthrown at any moment by these Qazilbashis. Faced with this difficult and sensitive situation he determined to fight against the Ottomans and the Uzbeks, the two great opponents of Shiism. He was conscious of the fact that the table had been turned and that he had lost the confidence of the Qazilhashis as their spiritual .pa preceptor. He could not rely on them; any how he resolved that he had to get rid of them and clear his way.[3]

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1. Mullakamal. *Tarikh-i-Safavian*, (History of Safavis), edited by Ibrahim Dahqan, Arak, 1334 A.H./1955 A.D. p.508.

2. The word 'Yatim' generally means an orphan, but it also signifies unique, single (pearl), vagabond, chevalier, wrestler, hostile and plundrer. Zainuddin Mahmud Wasifi has used this word in his work, *Badaye ul Waqaye'*, (Vol.I, pp.471, 472 and 485) that in 903 A.H./1497 A.D. "A number of ruffians and "Yatims" had disturbed the peace of the city of Herat so much that not a single night passed when some one was not killed or injured in any lane or by lane." At other place, about this word, he writes that, "In Herat there was a person, called Amir Khalil. All the wrestlers admitted that he had no equal being "Yatim'.

3. The compiler of *Tarikh-i-Khuld-i-Barin* (the history of eternal, Paradise) writes, about these events' "...As Qazilbashi clans had raised their heads of hostility (and obstinacy) and had lost the devotion and sincerity that they had for the Safavi dynasty therefore, (Shah Abbas) recruited people from different clans as his soldiers and with their help the affairs of his sultanate reached their Zenith. He eliminated Qazilbashis, organised (the army) of thousands of Georgian and Charkas slaves, engaged several thousands gunmen, archers and bowmen from the people of Chaghtai Clan, Arabs Iraqis, Khurasanis and Azarbayjins etc....

   Edited by Mir Hashim Muhaddis, P.b. Afshar Yazdi, Tehran, 1372 A.H. p.16.

He therefore, determined to make short work of the powerful Qazilbashi chiefs even on any flimsy ground, in order to curtail their hereditary power and restrict their arbitrary actions in their territories. He also held the Qazilbashis responsible for the murder of his mother and brother. In the early days of his reign, having enlisted the support of Murshid Quli Khan, one of the same clan, known as *Shahi Sivani*,[1] he put to death all those Qazilbashi chiefs who had hateched the conspiracy of eliminating his mother, brother and who poked their nose into state affairs. He did not spare even Murshid Quli Khan. He also eliminated some other nobles and the Qazilbashi clans, irrespective of their guilt. He deposed them from their ranks and conferred their positions on the sons of the absolutely loyal nobles. In contravention of former conventions, he strictly exhorted them to be always present in his service and be ever ready to carry out the imperial mandate.[2]

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1. This Turko-Persian compound word means loyality to the king and sacrifice of one's life to the spiritual preceptor also pronounced as Shah Soun.

2. For further detail, see: *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* Vol.I, p.401.

When Shah Abbas I resolved to take firm measures, against Qazilbashis[1] he thought it proper to win the support of Murshid Quli Khan and in this respect he ran with the hare and hunted with the hound, He convinced that noble that he gave much reliance to his loyalty which, he pretended to show was above all clannish and tribal interest. Having set at rest all other considerations he organised an army of those Circassian, Georgian and Armenian salves who were Christian by faith and were commonly called *Qullars*[2] or *Ghulaman-i-Shah*[3] (the Slaves of the king). These slaves were mostly sent by the nobles who either

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1. Regarding the strict action that Shah Abbas took against Qazilbashi chiefs, the compiler of *Tarikh-i-Khuld-i-barin* writes:

> Before him (Shah Abbas I), as Qazilbashi chief and the the army used to turn their back for their own liabilities and most of them brought lame excuses at the time of war, to avoid their responsibility, therefore, he (Shah Abbas I) made it a rule that all the soldiers, whether they are in regular service or stipendiaries and others must be ready to render their service for defending the frontiers of the country to guard its independence. If anyone made delay, the other who noticed it, was bound to report about the delay in carrying out the order to Diwanian (the governors of the court). Such a person deserved capital punishment his head be sent to the royal threshold and his property be confiscated. "It was for this reason that there was not a single person who could dare to avoid to do his duty." Falsafi, *Zindagani-i-Shah Abbas I*, Vol.I and 2, Ilmi Publication, fourth edition, Tehran, 1369 A.H/1980 A.D, p.224.

2. The chief of the royal slaves, who looked after all the affairs of Qullar Aqasi (Superintendent of the slaves).

3. The title Ghulam-i-Shah (the slave of the king), was apparently a derogatory term, but in fact during the Safavi reign this title was considered one of great honourp. Shah Abbas was very kind to his slaves. He gave them very high military and civil posts, and conferred upon them higher rank than on the Qazilbashi chiefs. The French traveller Chardin has written in his voyage (in Persia): "A Ghulam-i-Shah is of the rank of a court or Marquis whereas, the word rayiyat (subject) is applied to common people and is derogatory. These slaves of the king are divided among ministers, nobles and army officers. They are appointed to important positions according to their capability. When these slaves reach mature age they are appointed to jobs independently.

ruled over Georgia and Daghestan or were the local governors of the provinces situated in Caucasian region. These slaves from their childhood were either attached to the royal court or served the ministers and the army officers. They were given full military training and were ultimately converted to Islam. When they got married, their children too, were treated as royal slaves.

Shah Abbas, arranged a regular cavalry of these slaves, equipped them well with traditional and modern arms (the soldiers of this army were equipped with bows, arrows, swords, daggers and axes, instead of spears they were given guns). Shah Abbas had Abut thirty thousand such slaves. Out of them fifteen thousand physically strong and stout were picked up for active army service, while others were given assignments as suited their capability.

Shah Abbas, set up a platoon of gunmen, consisting of skilled villagers, local people, coming from different parts of the country, Arabia and Khuzistan province, in order to curtail the power of Qazilburhis, in the state. The Qazilbashi Turks who considered themselves superior to and nobler than the Persian speaking people did not find any place in this platoon. Every soldier of ths platoon was equipped with a sword, a dagger and a match lock. At the time of march they rode horses, in the battle-field they dismounted, aimed at the enemy from the ground. The chief officer of them was called to Qullar Agasi (gun men's commander). This platoon numbered twelve thousand soldiers. Most of them were villages and were commissioned temporarily When there was no war they were permitted to go home for farming. As these gunmen were Turks by race, they were not allowed to use the head gear designed like Qazilbashi crown. They could use an ordinary turban. Shah Abbas devided

them in several regiments : they were always on the alert and came into action forthwith at the slightest signal. The most important feature that distinguished them was their loyalty to the king. The creation of this new permanent platoon had given so much power and cnfidence to Shah Abbas that he dealt with the Qazilbeshis recklessly whenever he had even an inkling of their hostility.[1] The soldiers coming from Mazandaran province, were considered the best gunmen, bacause they had shown extraordinary acumen and courage on several occassions in wars.

The creation of this new platoon gave rise to financial problems on account of the payment of salaries. Before the reign of Shah Abbas the major part of his army consisted of Qazilbashis who had received different provinces as fiefs. The governor or the ruler of each province was allowed to spend the major part of his revenues on the army on condition of keeping only a limited number of soldiers in his army meant to be dispatched whenever required by the king. The province in which this system prevailed was called *Mamalik* (the state) and the king was entitled to a very small amount of revenue and that too in the form of presents or gifts. This state of affairs resulted in the impoverishment of the royal exchequer. There was no other source of income which could meet the expenditure of the new platoon which had been organised permanently.

The main source of the income of the king was the crown lands of the state, the income of which was collected by the supervisors and the financial

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1. See *Artish-i-Iran dar Asr-i Safavi* (Army of Iran during Safavi period) by Larens Lokhart, The Journal *"Islam"*, vol. 34, 1959, pp.89-98.

agents, appointed by the king. Shah Abbas solved this problem by converting all the state property into crown land to be looked after by a controller, who was generally picked up from the slaves of the king. This strategy of Shah Abbas reduced, on the one hand, the number of those powerful Qazilbashi chiefs who ruled every region and raised the status of his slaves on the other.

This policy adopted by Shah Abbas, at the outset seemed very interesting and appeared to be the only short-term solution of his problem but in the long run it proved detrimental.

First, when the former system was in vogue the Qazilbashi Chiefs lived on their estates; they took personal interest and did not intimidate or oppress anyone. If they ever tried to do otherwise the economy of the state suffered, the output reduced and the revenue declined. Now when their estates came under the direct control of king, the revenue-collector had only one interest and it was to secure his job by collecting cash amount over and above the estimated value of the revenue. This exclusive purpose made him oblivious of the fact that the pressure of revenue collection would bring down the standard of livong.

Secondly, this policy weakened the military power in the country during the reign of his successors, particularly during the reign of Shah Safi (1038-52/1629-42) and Shah Abbas II (1052-77/1742-66), because the state's property was rapidly converted into crown land and consequently the border states, where Qazilbashi chief were reappointed at the time of war also became a part of crownland.

The reappointment of the Qazilbashi Chiefs in exigency indicates that they could manage the affairs of the estates in a better way. A Qezelbashid chief

whom an estate was granted as fief proved more competent than a superintendent, appointed by the government. They looked after the affairs of crownland from the point of view of its defence, whereas the officer appointed by the government did not care for the welfare of the estates.

There is no doubt that the slaves who constituted the Army of Shah Abbas mostly lacked that martial spirit which characterized the tribal life although some of them proved their mettle as very good commanders. The Qazilabashi, on the contrary, had the power of resistance and the capability to defend. In fact the Qazilbashis, had a deep-rooted hatred for these slaves and derisively called them Qarah Uglon (the sons of the black slaves). This state of affairs reorientated the conversion of the state property into crown land with the result that this policy impeded the economic growth of the country and finally led to the demoralisation of army.

The curtailment of the number of Qazilbashi chiefs was not the only step which Shah Abbas I took; he took other measures too. He systematically transferred Qazilbashis of one clan to the fiefdoms of other fiefs-holders. Sometimes, he intentionally, got a clan subjected to a person belonging to another clan and sometimes, he appointed one of his slaves as their chief on the plea that they required a proper management of this affairs.

The impact of such a policy on the affairs of a country could not be regarded as insignificant. In a very short span of time, Georgians, Armenians and Circassians were appointed to key positions of the country. Minorsky[1] has

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1. *Sazman-i-Idari-i-Hukumat-i-Safavi* (Safavi administrative organisation) by Monorsky, see the supplementry notes on the book entitled *"Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, translated by Masud Rajab neya, Zawwar publication Tehran, 1334 A.H. p.53. onward.

estimated that at the end of the reign of Shah Abbas I, one fifth of the key posts in the administrative service of the country were occupied by these slaves. These upstarts did not only stopped here. Having reached the highest rung in the Safavi society, they ever tried to establish their own dynasty. Allah Verdi Khan offers the best example. He was originally an Armenian and was considered one of the powerful dignitaries belonging to the Safavi period. He remained in his office upto the year 1003A.H/ 1595 A.D. He did not only head the chiefs of the slave-platoorns which was regarded as one of the five important posts of the country,[1] but he was also raised to the position of *Amir Ul Umara* (the chief of the nobles) of the province of Fars and commander-in chief of Iran. He held this position till his death (1022 A.H/1613 A.D). His son, Imam Ali, succeeded him in the same capacity.[2]

Politico-Social conditions of Timuri dynasty in India and its relations with Persia during Safavi Period.

Cultural, economic and political relations that developed between India and Persia during the past several centuries have been the result of many causes and also a number of historical factors, which it is best to study in proper perspective in order to develop a better understanding. During the period when the Timuris ruled India, their relations with the Safavis, their counterparts in Persia were almost cordial. This mutual cordiality of relationship yielding fruitful dividends stems from many a factor.

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1. He had always thirty thousand well-equipped horsemen, belongong to regular and irregular soldiers. See: *Rauzat us Safaviya,* by Mirza Beg Bin Hasan Hasan-i-Janabedi, Istanbul, Sulaymania Library, Tauer, fol.382.

2. Shah Abbas, I was personally so much attached to him that he accompanied his funeral peocession and ordered that one hundred fifty Tumans, the standard coin of Persia, should be paid from the royal treasury for his funeral. His body was carried to Mas'had and buried in the mausoleum that he had built in his life time.

One of the these factors which prepared the ground for close relations between India and Persia was a package of common political problems. For instance, at the time when Timuris were ruling in India and the Safavi in Persia the Uzbeks who were the common enemy of Babur and Shah Ismail Safavi, posed a threat to both of them. This state of affairs bridged the gulf between the two powers and brought them closer to each other. Humayun's reception at the court of Shah Tahmasp Safavi when he sought refuge, had, no doubt its political dimensions, but it also played an important role in developing close cultural relations between India and Persia. Moreover, inside Persia, the Safavis were pursuing their policy of sectarian prejudice by spreading shiite sect. which had assumed a political complaxion and had led them to launch a campaign against the Ottoman Turks and the Uzbeks, This produced such a chaos in Persian society that a large number of people, mostly scholars, poets and men of letters were forced to migrate from Persia to Hindustan.

A brief survey of the political and social conditions obtaining in the two countries, particularly in the light of the correspondence that went on between Akbar and Shah Abbas, I is enlightening.

Zahir Uddin Muhammad Babur was the son of Umar Sheikh, fifth in descent from Amir Timur Kurkan, the great conqueror of world and contemporary with Shah Ismail Safavi, the ruler of Persia. In the year 899 A.H/1494 A.D., he became the ruler of Farghana region the capital seat of

which was Andajan. At the time of his accession he was only twelve years old.[1]

Babur regarded Samarqand as his ancestral home, which in his time was under the domination of Shaybak Khan Uzbek. From the very beginning it had been Babur's ambition to capture that city. For that purpose he attacked it several times. He made his first attack in the year 902 A.H./1496 A.D. in which not only he failed in his object, but he also lost Farghana. He, after his retreat, in the year 910 A.H./1504 A.D., captured Kabul and, gradually annexed Qandhar, Ghazna and Badakhshan to his territory. In the year 913 A.H./1507 A.D., he proclaimed himself the king. He renewed his attempt, with a more competent force to capture Samarqand but was forced to retreat by his powerful enemy. In spite of all that he did not lose heart and was on the look-out for an opportunity to eliminate his foe so that he might realise his dream which he had been cherishing for a long time.[2]

Babur was in the vicinity of Marv , when he got the news in the year 916 A.H/1510 A.D., that Shaybak Khan Uzbek had been killed by the soldiers of Shah Ismail Safavi. This offered him a good opportunity to make alliance with

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1. Zahir Uddin Muhammad Babur Mirza was the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, son of Abu Said, son of Muhammad Mirza, son of Miran Shan, son of Amir Timur Kourkan. His mother was Qutlaq Nigar Khanum, daughter of Yunus Khan entitled Khan-i-Kabir (the great Khan) and was one of the descendants of Chaghtay Khan, son of Chingiz. *Persian Hitoriography in Indo-Pakistan* by Dr. Aftab Asqhar, Cultural Centre Islamic Republic of Iran Lahore, Saiyid sons Printers, etc. 1985 A.D., p.45.

2. Babur, about this event writes himself, "In the holy month of Ramazan, the year 899 (June 1494 A.D.) I sat on the throne in the region of Farghana." See : *Babur Nama*, translated from Turkish into Persian by Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Bombay edition of the year 1208 A.H., p.2. In *Humayun Nama*, Gulbadan Begum, writes: "At the age of twelve year he became king. On the 5th of the holy month of Ramazan, year 902 A.H. (June 1494 A.D.) the *Khutba* was read in his name at Andjan, the capital of Farghana".

the conqueror of Marv (i.e., Shah Ismail Safavi) so that he might achieve his goal. This political alliance with Safavi king was effected when Shah Ismail liberated Babur's sister Khanzadah Begum from the Uzbeks in the battle of Marv, and sent her with full honour to her brother, who had been separated from her for ten long years.

This friendly gesture on the part of Shah Ismail encouraged Babur to start negotiations with him. Consequently, at the very outset Babur sent Khan Mirza Zadah, as his envoy to the Safavi court. On this occasion, besides showing his inclination of loyalty to the king of Persia, he also requested help to suppress the Uzbeks, who were regarded as the common enemy of both the rulers.[1] Shah Ismail received the envoy of Babur, warmly at his court. He also consented to Babur's suggestion regarding his support against the Uzbeks. At the same time a mandate was issued by Shah Ismail to the effect that the land of Transoxiana, conquered by Babur, belonged to him.[2]

On the other side Muhammad Timur Sultan and U'baid Ullah Khan, the two sons of Shaybak Khan who were ruling over Samarqand and Bukhara, respectively, also expressed their cordiality to Shah Ismail. They requested him with other Uzbek chiefs that they should be allowed to remain in their territories situated in the region of Transoxiana. Shah Ismail approved of their request too. In this way the Safavi king was successful in crippling the power of the Uzbeks

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1. It has been mentioned in Babur Nama, "When Shah Ismail gave defeat to Uzbeks near the city of Marv, Khanzada Begum was in that city. The king treated her well for my sake. He sent her to Qunduz under sufficient protection and she joined me in that city". *Babur Nama* p.18, See also, *Abdullah Nama or Sharaf Nama-i-Shahi* by Tanish bin Muhammad al-Bukharayi, Herman Eth, fol. 336.

2. Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, p.39.

in the surrounding area of the eastern part of Persia an d also allowed Babur's dynasty to establish itself in the countries to which they lay their calim as ruler unhindered, to the exclusion of all.[1]

When Khan Mirza returned from his mission, he was without any reinforcement. Even Babur once again attacked the Uzbeks. In the early days of the year 917 A.H/1511 A.D., he succeeded in throwing them into confusion.[2] This success with which he was crowned this time gave him enormous encouragement and boosted his morale. Now, he proposed to Shah Ismail to give him military aid, so that he could recapture Samarqand and Bukhara, the two cities which he claimed to belong to him being his ancestral territory.[3] He promised that if he succeeded in his object he would mint coins in Shah Ismail's name, at his return from there. Although Babur fulfilled his promise and struck coins in the name of Shah Ismail, these coins were not accepted by most of the people of Transoxiana as they were Sunnites and were during the reign of Shaybak Khan had been engaged in regular fight with Shah Ismail Safavi for a very long time, this political alliance flopped on the ground of sectarian

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1. Allah Datta, *Jahangusha-i-Khaqan* p.30.

2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, by Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, edited by Eliac, London, 1898 A.D, pp.237-239. *Tarikh-i- Rawabit-i-Iran Wa Hind Dar Daura-i-Safavi*, by Muhammad Baqir Aram and Abbas Quli Ghaffari Fard, 1373 A.H/1994 A.D, p.82.

3. Ibid, p.243, has wrongly written that he returned with the reinforced army sent by Sháh Ismail.

difference.[1] Even as Babur had achieved victory,[2] disheartened, he gave up the idea of capturing these two cities.[3]

Babur, after being defeated for the last time in Samarqand, diverted his attention towards Hindustan. It was Dauwlat Khan, the governor of Punjab who invited him to India and depose Sultan Ibrahim son of Sultan Sikandar Lodhi. As he had been looking for such an opportunity for a very long time, he at first suppressed the rebellion at Balkh and Badkhashan, and established his strong hold over the region, presently called Afghanistan. In the year 931 A.H./1525 A.D. he crossed the Indus river with the determination to conquer India. After capturing Peshawar and crossing the river Jehlum he also conquered the cities of Sialkot and Lahore. Thereafter he marched towards Delhi. Finally he defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi at Panipat. After reaching in the year 932 A.H/.1526 A.D. he declared himself the emperor of Delhi.[4]

Babur, in the year 937 A.H./1530 A.D., invited all the nobles of his empire and in their presence nominated his son, Muhammad Humayun as his successor, as he was more capable and intelligent than all his other sons and had played very important role and showed his mettle in establishing the rule of his father in Hindustan.[5]

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1. Allah Datta, *Jahangusha-i-Khaqan*. p.206

2. Khand Mir, *Habib-us-Siyar*, Bombay ed. 1237, A.H., p.66.

3. Shah Ismail dispatched twelve thousand selected mounted soldiers under the command of Zain ul Abidin Safavi, Qara piri Beg Qajar, Zainal Sultan, Chamlu, Badanjan Sultan Rumlu and Khwaja Mohmud all headed by Najm-i-Sani, See: Khand Mir, Ibid, p.66.

4. For further information, See: Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* Vol.I, pp. 329-332.

5. See the will of Babur in *Humayun Nama* by Gulbadan Begum, reprinted at Lahore in 1966, p.275.

Nasir ud din Muhammad Humayun was enthroned as the emperor of Hindustan in the year 937 A.H./1530 A.D., corresponding to the seventh year of the reign of Shah Tahmasp I (930-984 A.H./1524-1576 A.D.) son of Shah Ismail. The reign of Humayun can be divided into two main parts. The first started from the time of his accession to the throne of Hindustan which ended with defeat inflicted on him by Farid Hasan entitled Sher Shah Suri, Afghan in the war of Qannauj, which was fought in the year 464 A.H./1539 A.D., as a result of the bitter enmity of his brothers.[1]

The second period started in the wake of his refuge in Persia in the year 951 A.H/1541 A.D., and his warm reception by Shah Tahmasp Safavi. He stayed there for 15 years in preparation to regain the throne of Hindustan, which he took in the year 962 A.H/1555 A.D., with the help of the king of Persia, on condition that if he succeeded in recovering his lost empire he would hang over the region of Qandhar to the King of Persia.[2]

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1. For further details about Qannauj war (which uprooted the Timuri dynasty and established the Suri dynasty) See: Badauni, Ibid, p.354; *Tarikh-i-Shirshahi* by Abbas Khan Sharvani, edited by Dr. Imam Uddin's Published by Dhaka University, 1964 A.D.

2. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni writes, "In one of the meetings Shah Tahmab, in conversation with Humayun, enquired of him the cause of his defeat. The king (Humayun) without any hesitation said, "The enmity of brothers". See : Badauni, *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh* Vol.II, p.444. Hendou Shah writes : "one day, His Majesty (Shah asked the cause of the triumph of a weak enemy. His Majesty (Humayun dwelling in paradise) replied : "the enmity of brothers". (At this) the king of Persia said, "You had not to conduct in the manner that you did." *Tarikh-i-Farishta or Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi,* Kanpur 1301 A.H/1922 A.D., Vol.I, p.236.

Humayun's stay for 10 years at the court of Shah Tahmasb, was very significant from socio-political point of view and is a land-mark in the history of the cultural relations between these two countries.[1]

Political Conditions During the Reign of Akbar (963-1014 A.H/1556-1605 A.D.)

Defeated and chased out by Sher Khan, Humayun reached Sind where during his stay he married Hamida Begum, who belonged to a Persian family and was one of the grand daughters of Sheikh Ahmad Jam, commonly known as

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1. Badauni and Farishta, both write about the warm reception and hospitality of Shah Tahmasb, "By the order of Shah, at every halt, the ruler of that region, went hastily to receive (Humayun) and at each stage proper arrangements were made of his reception" See : *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.I, p.444.

   "Bairam Khan Turkman according to the instruction (of Humayun) went to Qazvin and brought from there the reply of his letter, consisting of the glad tiding of his arrival and the ardent desire (of Shah Tahmasb) to see him . Afterwards, His Majesty (dwelling in Paradise) proceeded in that direction. In the month of Jamadi ul Awwal 951 (August 1544 A.D) the king of Persia, Shah Tahmasb son of Shah Ismail, met him by paying the full honour and tributes he arranged for the banquet suitable for such a (grand) guest to show his hospitality to him." See : *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Vol.I, p.236. For further detail about the reception of Humayun by Shah Tahmasb Safavi, See. the mandate of Shah Tahmasp, sent to Muhammad Khan Sharaf ud din Oughli, the governor of Khurasan, regarding the reception of Humayun. This mandate has been included in the book entitled, *Shah Tahmasb Safavi*, (the historical records and documents with detail notes by Dr. Abdul Husain Nawai, the editor of the book) Published by Arghawan, first ed. Bunyad i Farhang's Eran, 1368 A.H./1989 A.D. pp. 52-61.

   See : *Tazkira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar*, by Bayazid Bayat, ed. by Muhammad Hidayat Husain, published by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 13-22.

   About this event, Badauni writes, "In the year 962, Delhi, the capital seat of the empire became the stage of royal magnificence and glory and most of the regions of Hindustan were again adorned with the *Khutba* (the ceremonial oration at the time of accession of a king) and the coin. This was unprecedented that a king once defeated got his empire again. But, contrary to that here this has been seen by the power of God Almighty." Ibid, Vol.I, p.362.

Zhindeh pil. In the year 949 A.H./1542 A.D., a son was born to him, whom he named Muhammad Akbar.[1]

Akbar, came to the throne of Hindustan in 964 A.H./1556 A.D. when he was fourteen years old. But, as he was not of age by that time, Bairam Khan son of Saif Ali, one of the prudent shiite nobles at the court of Akbar, kept all the affair of the state in his hand, until he was eighteen years old. Humayun, after regaining the throne of Hindustan remained alive only for six months and could get no opportunity to establish a strong government in the country. His rule was confined only to Delhi, Agra and a part of the Punjab province, while the rest of the country had been under the occupation of the enemies of Timuri dynasty who were creating troubles. Now, Akbar had to meet the challenge at such a tender age if he was determined to bring the vast country of Hindustan under his scepter.[2]

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1. Sheikh ul Islam Abu Nasr Abul Hasan son of Ahmad son of Muhammad Namiqi Jami, known as Ahmad Zhinda pil or Ahmad-i-Jam was one of the Saints of Persia during the second half of the fifth century and first half of the sixth century of the Islamic era. For further details see : *Maqamat-i-Zhenda pil*, by Said uddin Muhammad Ghaznavi, edited by Intisharat-i-Bungah-i-Tarjuma Wa Nashr-i-Kitab, Tehran, 1340 A.H./1964 A.D. p.39.

2. Bairam Khan son of Saif Ali, son of Shir Ali Turkmani Balkhi belonged to Qara quyunlu tribe. He was born at Ghazna, went to Balkh after the death of his father, whom Babur had appointed as the governor of Ghazna. He was one of the great nobles at the court of Humayun. After being defeated by Sher Shah Suri, Humayun accompanied by him took asylum in Persia. He was all the time with him till his return to this country. When Humayun died and Akbar came to the throne he looked after all the affairs of the state, as the tutor and vicegerent of the king, who was a minor at the time of his accession to the thron. As a reward for his services he was entitled Khan-i-Khanan. The Sunni nobles intrigued and he was deprived of his rank and was ultimately done away with in 905 A.H./1577 A.D. His son, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan was one of the great nobles at the court of Akbar. For further details, see : *Nuzhat ul Khawatir*, by Abdul Hay son of Fakhr ud din Alhasani, fascicule VI, printed at Mailes press. *Dairat ul Ma-arif Usmania* (Usmania *encyclopedia)*, Haiderabad (Deccan), India, 1410 A.H/1909 pp. 56-57.

In the early days of his reign when Akbar was engaged in suppressing the rebellious chiefs in the Punjab, one of his rank enemies, Himun Baqqal, took advantage of this opportunity and captured Delhi and Agra. He had risen to overthrow Akbar, but he was killed in the battle, which was fought in the historic battlefield of Panipat[1] in the year 963 A.H./1555 A.D. and Akbar captured both the places again.

Akbar, during the years 963 A.H./1555 1559 A.D. subdued Iskandar Lodi, one of the descendants of Sher Shah Suri, who claimed to be the ruler of the region which was under Mughal sovereignty. At the same time, he annexed the strategic pockets under the control of Afghans and Rajputs.[2]

In the year 967 A.H./1559 A.D. when Akbar was eighteen years old, he removed his wise and prudent noble Bairam Khan[3] from his seat, on the ground that he was a shiite or one of the Iranian nobles. The intrigues of the Turani noble who were his rivals and who were Sunnites, were responsible for Barian

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1. Now, a district of Haryana State.

2. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.II, pp. 17-35.

3. Khushgu, the compiler of the biographies of Persian poets, namely *Safina-i-Khoshgou*, by Bindraban Das Khushgu, edited S.Shah Mud. Ataul Rahman, Patna, 1959. Writes on page 7 about him that he was a renowned noble, (being) wise, intelligent, generous and courageous.

Khan's downfall. Now Akbar personally took the charge of the affairs of the state in his hand.[1]

Akbar, in the same year dispatched his army to capture the region of Malwa and after inflicting defeat on Bahadur Khan, the Afghan ruler, captured Saringpur, the capital seat of this country. During the next eight years upto 975 A.H./1576 A.d. he suppressed many revolts by some Timuri chiefs, Uzbek commanders and some nobles, like Adham Khan, Asaf Khan, Khan-i-Zaman, Mun'im Khan, Shah Abul Ma'li and Hakim Mirza the governor of Kabul. Having saddled himself strongly he was able to maintain law and order throught his empire.[2]

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1. One of the reasons for removing Bairam Khan from the post of Viceregency was that he belonged to the shiite sect. The sunni Jurists who were jealous of him and could not tolerate him exercising such a great influence on Akbar's mind, hatched a plot to - eliminate him, the queen mother was also convinced. Badauni writes, "Some of the persons, speaking malciously, were jealous of independent viceregency of Khan-i-Khanan. They made the mind of his imperial majesty to such an extent that Khan-i-Khanan thought that that he had been the main cause for the auspicious arrival of his imperial majesty to Delhi and that he was determined to take revenge from him, he would not dare stay with him. It is appropriate he thought he should take leave to go to the exalted (city of) Macca. His imperial majety was not prepared for parting from him, therefore. As consolation he sent the message to Khan-i-Khanan that he had come all this way that such an associate had become suspect. It is better tyo console him, so that he could be comforted at heart and would stay with him. With these words they spread this rumour that his majesty had changed his opinon about Khan-i-Khanan..... at this Khan-i-Khanan said, "as the opinion of his Majesty has changed about me he prepared to take the voyage of the ship at the time after sun set prayer, when Khan-i-Khanan got down from this step, Mubarak Khan Afghan came on the pretext of meeting. With the first attack of his dagger, he made him drink the syrup of death. (the year of martyr was 985 A.H.).

2. For further detail see : *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.III, from the beginning (accession of Akbar to the throne to page 101.

AKBAR'S EXTRA-TERRITORIAL CONQUESTS:

After establishing his sovereignty over his own empire, Akbar launched a Campaign to conquer the neighbouring areas beyond the frontiers of his realm. At first he made peace with the Rajputs, a martial race of the Hindus, who had since long cherished the dream of their independence and sovereignty. He strengthened his ties with them by matrimonial alliances and himself married in a Rajput family. In this way, he not only made his alliance with the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur, but also laid the foundation of unity and brotherhood on national level in Hindustan.[1]

In the year 975 A.H./1576 A.D., he invaded the state of Chittor, besieged and captured the city of Mewar, its capital, by defeating its ruler Rana Pratap Singh. During the years 976 and 977 A.H./1568 and 69 A.D., he took the strong forts of Kalinjar and Ranthanbor. He also shattered the military power of Rajputs.[2]

In those days Gujrat was passing through serious chaotic conditions. Itemad Khan, one the influential nobles of that country, invited Akbar, who annexed that region to his domain in 980 A.H./1572 A.D.[3] After capturing Gujrat, he Conquered Surat port, which opened for him the navigational route and also brought him in contact with the portugis.[4]

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1. Jahangir was the son of Akbar's Rajput wife, who was the daughter of Raja Bihari Mal Kachhwaha. After her marriage with Akbar she was entitled Maryam Zamani. See An oriental Biographical dictionary. Manohar Reprinters, 1971, p.191 col.1.

2. Badauni, Ibid, Vol.II, p.107.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, p.139.

In continuation of his war campaigns Akbar dispatched a huge army to capture Bengal in 984 A.H./1576 A.D. under the command of Raja Todarmal. In this war, Daud Khan, the Afghan ruler of that region, was killed and his army was thoroughly defeated. Having quelled the sedition of Afghans, Akbar occupied the whole region of Bengal thus expanding the limits of the Timuri empire from Bay of Bengal to Indian ocean.

Kashmir had already been captured in 948 A.H./1540 A.D> by Mirza Haidar, uncle of Humayun, who had ordered him to subdue that region. Khutba was also read in his name there, but local chiefs killed Mirza Haidar. Kashmir fell into a state of confusion. Akbar also took advantage of that opportunity and sent his army, in 995 A.H./1586 A.D, on the pretext of maintaining law and order there and in this way, he annexed that country to his empire.[1]

Akbar, in the year 1002 A.H./1593 A.D., sent his army, under the command of his military general, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan to reannex Sindh region to the Mughal empire, as Sindh had proclaimed its independence at the time of Humayuns flight to Persia. In this campaign Mirza Jani Beg, the ruler of that region, was killed and that country too became a part of Mughal empire.[2]

Having solved the Northern India problem to his satisfaction, Akbar diverted his attention towards the Deccan, the Southern region of the Indian Subcontinent. At that time four main independent dynasties, Nizam Shahis in Ahmad Nagar, Burid shahis at Bidar, Adil Shahis in Bijapur and Qutb Shahis in

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1. Ibid, p.192.

2. *Tarikh-i-Farishta* by Mulla Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, Kanpur ed. 1301 A.H. Vol.II, p.1.

Golkunda were ruling the Southern region. They were always fighting against each other. Akbar also took advantage of this feud and sent several armies to that region under the command of Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Sheikh Abul Fazl, Prince Murad and prince Danyal. Ultimately Ahmad Nagar, Barar, Khandesh and Asir Garh were annexed to the Mughal empire.

Akbar and the Qandhar Problem

It was during the reign of Akbar, that differences arose between the Mughal empire and Persia. Humayun, before coming back to Hindustan had promised to Shah Tahmasp that he would hand over the region of Qandhar to Persia, but he did not keep his promise.[1] On the death of Humayun in 963 A.H./1556 A.D., the Qandhar dispute raised its head all over again. At that time, Shah Muhammad Qalati represented the Mughal empire as the governor of that region, Bahadur Khan, had received the gubernatorial assignment of the region called *Zamin-i-Dawar.* He started military operation to occupy that area. In the letter that he wrote to Shah Tahmasp.[2] he referred to Humayun's proposal of handing over Qandhar to Iran, and on this plea he offered to surrender that city to the king of Persia. The Persian forces turned out Bahadur

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1. For the promise that Humayun had made, See : *Akbar Nama,* by Abul Fazl Allami, Biblutica Indica, Calcutta, 1877-8 translated by : Beveridge, H. Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1897-1921, Vol.II, pp. 53 and 79., *Alam Aray-i Abbasi,* p.70. *Tazkira-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtay* by Hadi Kamvar Khan, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 96, fol. 457 b.

2. *Ahsan ut Tawarikh* pp. 395-6, *Muntakhab ul Lubab* by Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan, Calcutta, 1868 to 1909 A.D., Vol.I, p.134.

Khan from Zamine-i-Dawar and now Muhammad Shah took up the responsibility of defending Qandhar.[1]

The Persian as well as Indian sources differ Abut the events that took place later. According to the Safavis, Shah Tahmasb sent a huge army and occupied Qandhar after a besiege, because Shah Muhammad had declined to fulfill the promise that he had made. The Indian sources state that Shah Muhammad Qalati defeated the Safavi Army as the Persians made continuous attempts to capture Qandhar. Akbar, it is stated, had issued order to this effect that Qandhar be surrendered to the Persians reminding the promise made by Humayun. Anyhow, the city was captured by Persians in the year 965 A.H./1558 A.D, at the time when Akbar was engaged in suppressing the rebellions and establishing peace inside the country.[2] It was not easy for him to open two fronts and it was practically impossible for him to dispatch reinforcements from Agra, to such a distant place.[3] When the Persians occupied

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1. The Persian and Indian sources are unanimous regarding this event but the compiler of *Afzal ut Tawarikh* does not agree and opines that both the Mughal nobles were involved in this matter. For furtiher information, See: *Afzal ut Tawarikh,* Fol.209 a-b, Accordng to the compiler of this book, Fuzala Isfahani, Vol.I, Library of Colledge Itun, Ms. Margolioth Nr. 172, Vol.II, British Musium, Ms. Or, 4678 Bahadur Khan, offered to surrender the region of Zamin-i-Dawar to the Persians. He would also help, he promised, to get Qandhar released from the hand of Shah Muhammad. But, as the Persians reached there he did not honour his word, and was therefore crushed by them.

2. *Ahsan ut Tawarikh*, pp.40-45. *Afzal ut Tawarikh* fol.223 a-b.

3. *Akbar Nama:* Vol.II, pp.78-79. *Tazkirat ul Salatin-i-Chaghta* fol.457-58. The compiler of *Tarikh-i-Farishta* (Vol.I, p.465) writes taht, the Persians captured the city after a very prolong siege.

that city, Shah Tahmasb appointed Sultan Husain Mirza Safavi son of Bahram Mirza as the governor of that city.[1]

Akbar had to surrender Qandhar under duress. This, however, created a gulf and adversely affected the cordial relations between the two countries for sometime. Probably Shah Tahmasb sensed it and thought it wise to break their relations for some time. He sent a diplomatic mission headed by Saiyid Beg Safavi, son of Ma'sum Beg Safavi.[2] to the court of Akbar in the year 969 A.H./1562 A.D., who expressed his condolences at the death of Humayun, his father and offered congratulations on his accession to the throne. Khafi Khan mentions: "The object of this mission was to remove the misunderstanding regarding the dispute over Qandhar.[3] Shah Tahmasb, in the letter that he had sent through Saiyid Beg Safavi, had made special reference to his cordial relations with Humayun. Besides, he also spoke Abut the Mughal envoys, Bairam Khan and Muni'm Khan, entitled Khan-i-Khanan, at the Persian Court and the warm and cordial treatment they were accorded there. The mughal mission had made it quite clear that the developments that took place as a result of the Qandhar dispute had least effect upon the mind of the Mughal emperor, the Shah added.

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1. Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-Abbasi*, p.70, *Afzal Ut Tawarikh*, fol.223 b 225a. This book has also attributed a mandate to Shah Tahmasb.

2. Ma'sum Beg was the host of Humayun at Ardbil.

3. Khafi Khan Ibid, p.161.

After the death of Shah Tahmasb (in the month of Safar 984 A.H./May, 1578 A.D), his second son Ismail sat on the throne of Persia[1] by adopting the title, Shah Ismail II. This rule which could not last more than one year told a gruesome tale of blood shed and massacre as he was disposed towards sunnite sect.[2] of Islam and hence he was eliminated.[3]

During the reign of Shah Ismail II, we find a letter written to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, brother of Akbar, who was the governor of Kabul at that time. In that letter, Hakim has been addressed as an independent sovereign[4] and after referring to cordial relations between the ancestors of both the dynasties, Mirza Hakim has been asked to send the Mughal envoy to Persia. He

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1. Shah Ismail II, after coming to the throne ordered to kill six of his brothers, all the members of Qatailu clan, some Sufis at Qazvin, a number of Safavi princes and Imam Quli Mirza, one of the prominent persons of Safavi dynasty. For further infomration about the oppressive actions taken by Shah Ismail II, see *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, Vol.I, pp.205, 206, and 210.

2. As Shah Ismail II had prohibted to imprecate the first four caliphs of Islam and closed down the institution of the vituperations that had been set up in the early days of the reign of Shah Ismail I, therefore he was charged to be pro-sunnite. In order to rid himself of this blame and defend his position, he ordered that the following verse should be written on one side of the coin.

   Ze mashriq ta be maghrib gar imam ast
   Ali-o-Al-i-u' ma ra tamam ast.

   (If from the East to the West there is the Imam, Ali and his successors are sufficient for us). On the other side was his name and the place where it was minted. For further detail, see: Iskandar Beg, Ibid, pp. 153-6.

3. Some sources mention that the cause of the death of Shah Ismail II, was the excessive use of narcotic drugs, while others say that he was administered some narcotic substance in abundance, through his sister Pari Khan Khanum, an influential lady at the court. For further information about the last events of his death and different opinions related to his death, Ibid, p.210.

4. Riaz ul Islam, *Indo Persian relations*, published by Iranian culture Foundation, Tehran, 1970, p.51.

also assured him that the roads leading to Mecca were open for pilgrims and that he should encourage them to go there via Persia.[1]

After the untimely death of Shah Ismail II , his brother Sultan Muhammad Khuda Banda, who had a very weak eyesight, became his successor in the month of Ramazan 905 A.H./Nob. 1577 A.D. As mentioned earlier, before his accession to the throne different Qazlbashi chiefs were constantly at war with each other. During reign their hostilities had reached the peak. On the other side, the hostile attitude of stubborn provincial governors assisted by the nobles had completely crippled the authority of the king.[2] Such anarchic conditions inside the country provided the Ottoman Turks with an opportunity of invading Persia.[3]

Under these unfavourable circumstances Khuda Banda sent his delegation, under the leadership of Sultan Boli Chandan ughuli to the court of Akbar and sought his help. The Mughal emperor made all the preliminary preparations to send one of his sons to Persia to punish the Qazilbashi chiefs and also made up his mind to march to Khurasan himself to help the king against the Turks, but none of his schemes practically materialized.[4]

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1. Travelling faciltieis for those pilgrims who crossed Persia enroute to Mecca, had been an important matter between Safavis and the neighbouring Sunni states. See : *Noskha-i-jamia-i-Murasilat-i-Ulil Albab*, British Musum Ms. No. 6788. fol.128, and Bodlyen Ms. No. 2711, fol.62 a and 71 a.

2. *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, Vol.I, p.273.

3. *Zindigani-i-Shah AbbaseiAwwal* (life of Shah Abbas I) by Nasr Ullah Falsafi, Vol. I and II, p.47.

4. In the letter, written by Akbar to Abdollah Khan Uzbek, he mentioned that the king of Persia had asked him for help. See : *Akbar Nama*, Vol.III, pp.497 501, and Falsafi, Ibid, Vol.I, p.275.

CHAPTER - IV

SAFAVIDS, MUGHALS AND UZBEKS

It has been mentioned earlier that the Safavis, since the day of establishment of their rule in Persia, faced two strong headed enemies i.e., the Uzbeks in the East and Ottoman Turks on the West of the borders of their territory. They, for removing them from their way, who had caused serious threat to their newly founded authority, pondered over the situation to find some suitable solution.

In the meanwhile, the Uzbeks with the intention to crush the Safavi power, started political negotiations with Mughals, the rulers of Hindustan. At this the Safavis who were always keen to have strong cordial relations with Mughals, also opened the gates of mutual talks and actively started their political correspondence with Mughals inspite the fact that they knew that Akbar was quite disheartened on the issue of Qandhar, which was occupied by them.

In this chapter, while dealing with the politico-religious factors that caused Safavis to be at warfare with Uzbeks and Ottoman Turks, the role of Uzbeks will also come under discussion, because, it contributed a lot to the establishment of political relations and beginning of negotiations with Hindustan. Here, this should also be kept in mind that Safavis and Uzbeks were also maintaining negotiations and correspondence, therefore, the relations in all these three states had taken the form of such a triangle that when a ruler of any one side took some decision, he also kept into consideration the other two sides.

a) Uzbeks in the West:

One of the acute problems which Shah Abbas I was faced with and which had perturbed his mind was the threat from Uzbeks, who were his strong adversaries and cherished the desire to deprive him of his throne. This hostility

between the Uzbeks and Shah Abbas I, dated back to the day when the Safavi dynasty came into being and started ruling Persia. Though the presence of Uzbeks in Safavi society posed a complicated political problem, there were also sectarian differences between the Uzbeks and the Safavis. The letters that were exchanged between the two heads of state would help a lot to get at the discussion of these politico-sectarian differences. For this purpose, first of all, here we give a brief description of the rise of Uzbeks as a ruling dynasty.

THE UZBEKS:[1]

Shaybak Khan Uzbak son of Budaq Khan and grandson of Abul Khair Khan was one of the descendants of Juji son of Chingiz. He was born in 855 A.H./1451 A.D. His great grandfather was Shayban son of Juji. He lived in Qiqiz plain and ruled there.

Batu was the Chief of Juji clan. Though he was youngest of his brothers, Taqha Timur, Arda, Shayban and Tawal, he was wiser and more courageous than his brothers, he had won the loyalty and confidence of his brothers and children. He made two war campaigns in Europe and extended the territories of his ancestral country. The capital seat of the descendants of Batu was the city of "Saray" (Present Ghazan), on the bank of the Volga river, wherefrom they ruled

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1. Uzbek is a compound Turkish word, which *(Uz)* means one hundred and *Bek* means head or chief. Uzbeks were the nomads of Central Asia, but settled down in Transoxiana. They had several tribes, clans and sub-clans, the number of them probably was one hundred, therefore, they became known as Uzbaks or the chiefs of a hundred tribes and clans, because every tribe and clan had its own chief.

their country under the title of Sirurdu Khans (631=907 A.H./1233-1501 A.D.[1]

The clans belonging to the family of Shaiban Khan were called Uzbeks during the reign of Sirurdu Khan. Since then they were known as Uzbeks and retained this surname as long as they remained in power. This was the time when Islam was introduced in ulus jouji (The Jouji clan). After the fall of Batu's dynasty several persons, belonging to the clan of Shyaban, came in power and attained the position of Khan-i-Kul (the chief of the Khans or the monarch). A branch of them consisting of the two sons of Poulad (one of the descendants of Mungu Timur), namely Ibrahim Ughlun and Arab Shah also founded their dynasties. They were respectively called the Khans of Bhukhara (about 1500 A.D. - 1861 A.D.) and the khans of Khiva and Kharizm (about 1515 A.D. 1872 A.D), the founder of the khans of Bukhara was Shybak Khan. His father died when he was young. Abu-l-Khair Khan took charge of his guardianship. After the death of his father, he went to Qasim Sultan, ruler of Qibchaq plain.

As Shybak Khan, by nature was brave and ambitious. He rallied a force round him and marched towards Sayran to capture it.

Badi'uz Zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husain Mirza, sons of Sultan Husain Bayigra, were at daggers drawn with each other. Shaybak Khan took advantage of these mutual bickerings and disputes. First, he captured the region of

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1. *Habib Us Siyar*, Vol. III, fascicule 3, p.299. for further information see: Erskine, *History of India*, vol.I, (London, 1854), pp.127-305; Wambery, *History of Bukhara*, (London, 1873, pp.244-273 and Howorth, *History of Mongols*, part II, Division II (London, 1880), p.p. 691-713, *Takmilat-ul-Akhbar*, by Abdi Beg Shirazi, edited by Dr. Abdul Husain Nawai, Ney publication. First edition, Tehran 1369 A.H./1990 A.D., pp. 150-163.

Transoxiana and then, after the death of Sultan Husain Bayiqara conquered successively Khurasan and Herat in 713 A.H./1507 A.D.

This event has been described by Khand Mir in these words, "He took in his possession the states of Bustam and Damghan upto the extremities (territories) of Turkistan region."[1]

(b) **The Ottoman Turks in the East:**

The bitter enimity between the Safavis and the Ottoman Turks, on the Eastern border of their country, was the result of such factors, which had their roots in the remote past much before the creation of the Safavi dynasty. It has already been mentioned that most of the disciples of Sheikh Safi Uddin of Ardbil, the founder of the Safavi order, were Turks, who lived outside the territory of Persia and most of them belonged to Asia Minor. The deep and sincere devotion of these disciples to their spiritual guide at Ardbil, further strengthened during the time of his successors, particularly during the time of Sheikh Junaid, generally known as Sultan Junaid. It was because of his extradition by Jahan Shah Qaraquyunlu, he was forced to go to Anatolia (Asia Minor) to live with his disciples who had settled down there.[2] There he preached his mission among the villagers of different tribes. For this purpose he claimed spiritual and familial relationship with prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and introduced himself to be one of the descendants of the holy family. In this way he enlarged the number of his disciples and prepared an army of about ten thousand such soldiers, as could fight against Jahan Shah, and

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1. *Habib Us Siyar,* Vol. III, fascicule III, pp. 201-374.

2. Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi,* p.469.

as could sacrifice their lives, at any moment, at the command of their spiritual guide.

These Turk disciples of the Safavi order supported so strongly the successors of Sheikh Safi Uddin, that they ultimately brought Shah Ismail Safavis one of his descendants to the throne of Persia, at the time when he was only fifteen years old. The renowned Ottoman historian, Khwaja Sa'd Uddin son of Hasanjan, who originally belonged to Persia writes in his work.[1]

Bashina Taj Oldi, chikhti Awwal palid

Eteddi bi edrak Atraki Murid.

That wicked fellow put the crown on his head and revolted. He made many simple minded Turk his disciple.

The Turkish tribes who supported the cause of Shah Ismail and brought him to the throne of Persia, carried fire and sword with him into the neighbouring countries, propagated and expanded the Shiite sect of Islam. This fact has found mention in the contemporary Safavi and Ottoman sources such as: Rumlu (pertaining to Rum), Shamlu (Pertaining to Sham-Syria), Ustajlu, Takallu, Zulqadr, Afshar, Qajar, Varsaq and Sufia-i-Qarabagh.[2] Here the

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1. Khaja Sa'duddin Muhammad bin Hasan Jan, *Taj Ut Tawarikh*, Istanbul, 1279-1280, p.242; (Role of Turks of Anatolia in the formation and expansion of Safavid empire) by prof. Farouq Sumer, published by Given Mitabaasi Ankara-1976.

   Note : This book has been translated into Persia by Dr. Ihsan Ishraqi and Muhammad Taqi Imami, under the title ":*Naqsh-i-Turkan-i-Anatoli dar Tashkil Wa Towsia'-i-Daulat-i-Safavi*". (Role of Turks of Anatolia in the formation and expansion of Safavi empire). Tehran, Ist ed. 1371 A.H./ 1991 A.D.), p.30; *Hayat-i-Siyasi-i-sultan Bayazid-i-Duwwum* (Sultan II-Bayezid' in *Siyasi Hayat*, by Tansel, S., Istanbul, 1966, p.237.

2. Hasan Rumlu writes, "When His Majesty, of the glory of Alexander, alighted at Arzanjan, there assembled large groups of his disciples, counting seven thousand people, belonging to the tribes, Ustajlou, Shamlu, Rumlu, Takallu, Zulqadr, Afshar, Qajar, varsaq and Sufia-i-Qarajadagh. Among them were Muhammad Beg (who came with two hundred of his followers and descendants) and Abidin Beg (who joined the world protecting court with his three hundred men.") See : *Ahsan Ut Tawarikh*, p.41.

names of Rumlu and Shamlu tribes are worth mentioning, because they played a significant role in crowning Shah Abbas I as the king of Persia and shared with him in authority and power. Both these tribes belonged to Anatolia and Syria respectively.[1] Though they considered themselves to be the firm advocates of the Shiite sect, in fact they had superficial knowledge about its tenets. The exaggerated pro-shiite thoughts and spurious ideas about Shiism that penetrated in the Safavi system of government were the result of sectarian differences, which caused a great confusion. One of them was the fleeing of Muslims, of the Sunnite sect to neighbouring countries.

The boundless support, given by the Ottoman[2] Turks to Shah Ismail Safavi, together with their exodus[3] in countless numbers to join him, shook the administration of the Ottoman government so much that they werforced to take measures against the migration of its subject and check them. These measures were necessitated by the burden of tax which after the migration of thousands of the people, weighed heavily either on the residents of Anatolia or the religious

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1. Ibid, For further detail, about the role of the above tribes in the formation and expansion of the Safavi empire, See. ***Naqsh-Turkan-i-Usmani dar Tashkil Wa Tausia'-i-Daulat-i-Safavi*** (Role of Ottoman Turks in the formation and expansion of Safavi empire) by Farouq Sumer; pp.55-66.

2. About this event Khwaja Saduddin grand-son of Khwaja Kamal Isfahani writes: The simpleton Turks of Anatolia (Anatolia) are united with the members of that hated group (the Sufis of Ardbil), follow them en absentia, sacrifice their belongings, children and women in their way. The rich ones go to pay them their homage with plentiful gifts, send every year their countless offerings through their appointees. They consider that threshold, haunted by corruption, is the centre where their requirements would be met and a place for their incantations, because they have given them licence for those things which are prohibited (by Islam). They offer their daughters to them and bow to the mention of their names.

   See : *Taj Ut Tawarikh*, p.242.

3. About this, Lutfi Pasha writes:
   (The Turks sold their live-stock at a very cheap price and left their homes.)
   See: *Tarikh-i-AL-i-Osman*, p.243. also *Tarikh-i-Jahan Ara*, by Ghaffari, pp. 265-266, Nashr-i-Ali Istanbul 1341 A.H. p,198 and *Abdi Beg Nuvidi Shirazi, Takmilat-ul-Akhbar*, p.243.

institutions of that place. These emigrants also caused a great loss to land owners. In addition the most important was the loss of man power to the Ottoman government. These men were leaving the Ottoman territory in great numbers for Persia to work in its interest. Besides, the loyalty of those who had remained in the country, had become doubtful in the eyes of Ottoman ruler.

As in the beginning the relations between the Safavis and the Ottomans were not much strained and proper regard was paid to each other in correspondence, this issue was broached between the two governments. Shah Ismail wrote politely to Sultan Bayazid, the Ottoman ruler, that those devoted pilgrims who were desirous of coming to Persia for paying their homage at the Shrine of his ancestors should not be deprived of this blessing.[1] Bayazid wrote back: "There will be no difficulty for those who keep the promise that they will return to their homes after paying their visit to that holy shrine."[2]

When the Ottoman government could not curtail the measure of devotion of the tribesmen of their country, and failed to prevent them from supporting Shah Safi and friendly correspondence too failed to yield any desirable result, they resorted to some other serious measures. First they shifted the Qazilbashis in large numbers, to Balkan, the Southern part of Greece. This measure was taken in the year 907-8.A.H/1501 A.D. so as not to give them any opportunity

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1. "This is not hidden from your world-adorning mind and this established fact is recognised that since ancient times to this day, people of the world, particularly the inhabitants of the region of Rum, have faith, trust in and love for and devotion to my ancestros and receive their (Moral) help and support. Those who like their desires to be fullfilled and the men of ecstasy come to the members of this guiding family, pay their homage to the sacred sanctuaries of those saints, who have now their abode in Paradise-May God sanctify their souls," See: *Munsha't-i-Salatin* by Faridun Beg, Istanbul, 1274 A.H., Vol.I, p.345.

2. Ottoman Sultan, Bayazid II replied to this letter of Shah Ismail: "Most of the soldiers of holy wars from my subject abandoned this country with the pretention of paying visit (to the holy shrine) and there they showed slackness. It is for this reason that there has been a great loss to the recruitment of soldiers. When one of the soldiers of holy war, approaches an old subject and meets him directly according to the ancient custom, he is forbidden by him to go back to the country of their original home. ibid.p.346.

of causing any damage to the country, as they were so far flung. But, this step flopped and brought in its wake some evil consequences. The Qazilbashis revolted thrice in Anatolia. The first revolt took place in 917 A.H./1512 A.D., and the second the next year, in 918 A.H/1513 A.D. In their second revolt they also received active support from the Safavis. The causes of those events that took place there were not only Politico-religious but also had socio-economic aspects. Economic crises, famine and out-break of plague made the life of the people of Turkman tribe so hard and miserable that they had no alternative other than abandoning their ancestral homeland. Besides, the Ottoman government was strictly watching their movements and imposed many restrictions upon them. All these measures were taken by bureaucratic authorities of the central government.

Confronted with such unfavourable conditions in Anatolia, these Turk tribes found in the person of Shah Ismail a divine being and therefore, the Persia of the Safavi period had become a dream land [1] for then. It was on account of this, they preferred to live in the realm of the Safavis and accepted tribal political system, and abhorred the ideas of being the subject of Constantinople. This paved the way for them to became their sincere and selfless devotees.

The unchecked chaos and confusion and the revolt of Qazilbashis of Anatolia, caused much impatience to the Ottaman empire. This ultimately resulted in the abdication of Sultan Bayazid (in 918 A.H/1512 A.D.) in favour of his powerful son Sultan Salim, sho did not only meet the threat from Persia but also annexed Syria and Egypt to the Ottoman empire.

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1. The other reason which persuaded the tribes of Anatolia, to become the subject of Shah Ismail was that they enjoyed many facilities and better economic conditions under that monarch. The opportunities of leading a better life also motivated the Turk tribes to migrate to Persia. The Turkish sources say: "Those who were the subject in their country, joined Shah Ismail. They added to his pomp and glory also became masters of retinues. See. Lutfi Pasha, *Tarikh-i-Ali-Osman*, p.198.

Sultan Salim, first of all, brutally crushed the Qazilbashis. He killed them in a large number on the one hand and expelled them from his territory on the other. Afterwards he entered the battlefield of Chaldoran in 920 A.H./1514 A.D., to have a direct encounter with Shah Ismail and defeated him with help from his strong and large army, which was equipped with sophisticated weapons.

The after-effects of this war were many. This war changed the line of demarcation between the Safavis and the Turks. The region of Eastern Anatolia, birth place of Qaraquyunlu and Aq quyunlu tribes and the homeland of the belligerant Qazilbashis was annexed to the Ottoman empire for good. Even today it is considered the borderline between Turkey and Iran. This was the result of the chaldoran war, fought in 920 A.H./1514 A.D.

Although Iraq, the Western part of the Qafqaz and some Eastern regions were still under the domination of Shah Ismail, which he lost later, the city of Tabriz, the capital seat of the country, had now become a frontier town and its location was so precarious and valnerable that it was not very far from the reach of the enemy. The sanguinary nature of the problem did not escape the notice of the successors of Shah Ismail who at the first instance shifted it to Qazvin and later to Isfahan. There is no gainsaying the fact that Turkish group was playing a dominant role in the formation of the Safavi government but as the capital shifted from Tabriz (the Turkish speaking area) to Qazvin and then to Isfahan, (both Persian speaking regions) the peculiarities of the Persians began to rise and started influencing the administrative machinery: the domination of the Turkish speaking Persians was brought down to the minimum.

Secondly, this war and the defeat of Shah Ismail shook the foundation of the faith of the Qazilbashi devotees of Shah Safi that Shah Ismail was some devine being and that he would be ever victorious in wars. The moral laxity of Shah Ismail together with his manners also disappointed them. All these events combined together created many difficult problems in the structure of the Safavi government. This was followed by each Qazilbashi tribe to hold power in its hand and appoint the successor to Shah Ismail from its own people. The credit goes to Shah Abbas I who successded to some extent in suppressing this trend.

CAUSES OF HOSTILITY BETWEEN THE SAFAVI AND UZBEKS

Political and Sectarian Factors:

Territorial expansion through conquest is one of the chief dynamics of medieval empires; there was seldom an exception to this rule. The Mongols, if anythng, excelled in the practice of expansionism.

The policy of encroaching upon the territories of the neighbouring countries, not only satisfied the lust for expansionism but also intensified it and tempted them to capture other regions. The history of their ancestors justified the action of the Mongol rulers and they derived inspiration from them in this respect. This spirit which they had kept alive led Timur to associate himself with Chingiz Khan and style himself a descendant of the Ilkhanid clan.

Moreover, Nizam Shahi, the court historian of Timur has clearly mentioned that Timur was in the lineage of the auspicious dynasty of Chingiz Khan.[1]

Shaybak Khan Uzbek, too like his great grandfather, Changiz Khan, adopted the policy of expansionism and strove to extend his territorial jurisdiction. Consequently by the year 913 A.H/1507 A.H. he subdued a vast area. His continuous successful attempts in enlarging his territories, generated over-confidence in him. By that time, Shah Ismail Safavi had ascended the throne of Persia and was quite young. Shaybak Khan Uzbek, having little regard for this experienced prince advanced to capture those regions which lay in his territory.[2] In the year 915 A.D/1509 A.D., when Shah Ismail was engaged in Darband war campaign, Shaybak Khan ordered his army to attack Kirman, the part of realm of Shah Ismail. His army ravaged the city and its suburbs. Sheikh

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1. The following is an extract from the second letter of Timur that he wrote to Sultan Bayazid Khan Ottoman: "If my fault is capturing the world, (it is worth mentioning here that) after accession to the throne and minting the coin, I declared in my titles that there was no doubt that I come in the category of those who were endowed with authority, and according to this verse of Koran: "And He it is Who raised some of you above others by (various) grades"... *(Sura-i-Anam,* verse 165), therefore for a junior one obedience to a senior is binding, as I myself belong to the Ilkhanid dynasty. (*Asnad Wa Mukatibat-i-Tarikhi-i-Iran* (Historical documents and records of Iran) compiled by Dr. Abdul Husain Nawai from Timur to Shah Ismail) Shirkat-i-Intisharat-i-Ilmi-o-Farhangi (scientific and cultural publications), p.99.

   As the tree of the imperial lineage of His Majesty was not only nourished in the blessed garden and auspicious family of Changiz Khan, but also that when the water had gone away from the garden and valley of that family, it was he who diverted it to its canal, and with that he reserved the institution of that king-born at the time of conjunction of two auspicious stars and in particular gave new life to the blessed Chaghtay dynasty and raised it to the position of Saltanate of Iran and Turan, therefore, it is necessary for the historian to begin the account of Timurid Sultanate with the description of His Majesty the conqueror of the world (i.e. Changiz Khan).

   Shami, *Zafar Nama,* p.12.

2. For further information about these events, See : *Jahangusha-i Khaqan,* pp.352-380.

Muhammad, Governor of that province was killed in this campaign. After capturing that province he handed it over to his son-in-law, Ahmad Sultan Shaybani and himself went to Herat.[1]

Attack on Kirman brought the Uzbeks and the Safavis for the first time into confrontation and conflict. The letters exchanged between Shaybak Khan and Shah Ismail indicate that Shaybak Khan was determined to continue his policy of expansionism. In his letters to Shah Ismail he did not pay any regard to the latter. His letters were couched in derogatory terms fuming with hatred and anger, whereas, Shah Ismail, at the youthful age of 23, always replied in a respectful manner.[2] In one of his letters, Shaybak Khan addressed him as Darogha (Sheriff) in order to insult and injure the dignity of a king and

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1. Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i Abbasi* , p.37.

2. This extract has been taken from the writings of Hasan Beg Romlu. He states: 'Even this year (915 A.H) Shaybak Khan sent a letter to the Khaqan (The title of Turk rulers) of the glory of Alexander, in which he wrote :

Mara tama' be mulk-i-Iraq-i-Kharab nist
Gar Mokka-o-Madina nagiram hisab nist.

(I am not greedy to capture the ruined country of Iraq. Capturing places, other than Mecca and Madina the two sacred cities and centres of Islamic movements in Hejaz, Arabia have no significance to me).

The Khaqan of the glory of Alexander gave its reply.
Har kas be jan-i ghulam-i-Ali bu Turab nist.

Sad Macca-O Madina be girad hisab nist

(If any person who is not devoted to Ali, as his slave, captures a hundred cities like Mecca and Madina they do not come into any account). See : Rumlu, *Ahsan Ut Tawarikh*, pp.109-110.

mentioned that he had inherited the right to sovereignty and capturing territories from his ancestors.[1]

This argument of Shaybak Khan strengthened his claim to his direct descent from Changiz Khan. Shah Ismail's mother was the daughter of Uzun Hasan Khan or Amir Hasan Beg Qaraquyunlu. Generally the son inherits kingship from his father, not from his mother, so Shaybak Khan advised Shah Ismail to step into his father's shoes whereas a daughter should follow her mother. Rude as it was, this piece of advice of Shaybak Khan was accompanied by a head-scarf and a beggars' bowl for Shah Ismail. He further reminded him that he had forgotten the profession of his father and that the gift sent to him was meant to remind him of his father's vocation. At the end of this he expressed his desire to make pilgrimage to the sacred shrine at Mecca as a pious Muslim and that he would meet him, in Iraq en route to Mecca.

Shaybak Khan, as mentioned above was of a belligerent and expansionist nature. In the same letter he asked Shah Ismail to fix the meeting ground. The Shah made a reply to his boastful and derogatory letter in polite terms and wrote

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1. Ismail. darogha.... Should know that administration of the affairs of holding the countries, subduing the regions, crushing the enemies, augmenting the means of bounty, doing wonderful things of blissful signs and brightening the heart pleasing edifices of welfare have been bestowed, since the day of eternity by Divine Country on the powerful hold and on (strong) hands of (my) respected grand father, the blissful martyre--

(Furthermore) this is one of the sayings of the messenger of God : "the son is the reflection of father: It is a decided fact the heritage of father goes to the son, and the sons are entitled to it....

Niwai, *Asnad-o-Mukatibat-i-Tarikhi-i-Shah Ismail*, p.9.

that he had to go to Khurasan for the purpose of visiting the holy shrine of Imam Reza (peace be upon him) and that he hoped to be received by him warmly.[1]

Anyhow, the fire of hatred that was kindled by Shaybak Khan was further fuelled by the sectarian policy of Shah Ismail. The result of this smouldering fire showed itself in the outbreak of war at Tahir Abad which came to a close at the killing of Dana Beg Afshar, the commander of Safavi army, whom Shah Ismail had sent from Sarxas to Marv for suppressing the Uzbek rebels. The Shah himself went o Marv, on the 20th of the month of Ramazan 916 A.H. (22nd Nov. 1510 A.D.) and besieged the city. He continued his attack for seven days at the gates of the city, with no success. He had to make a retreat on Wednesday, the 28th of the month of Sha'ban 916 A.D. (10th March 1510 A.D.) and lay in ambush at a distance of three farsang at the town called Mahmudi, about 16 kilometers from Marv. Shaybak Khan and his army came out of the fort on Friday, the 30th of the month of Shahan 916 (12th March 1510 A.D.), in pursuit of Shah Ismail and his troops.[2] They met at Mahmudi where a fierce battle took place in which Shaybak Khan was killed. At the time of death

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1. The extract of the original letter is given below in English : "The desired letter of the emperor - the protector of Sultanate and of the dignity of Saturn - has been received. In that letter Your Majesty have desired to set out in this direction for which your Majesty should not be worried. After the Royal New year festival by the grace of God - I would proceed to pay may homage to the threshold of Ali bin Musa Al Reza (peace be upon him). As I would alight at Mash-had -- with the banners, bearing the signs of victory, success and fortune - there I would see whatever happens by the grace of God Almighty"....

   For further details, See : Nawai, Ibid, p.73.

2. Shah Ismail Safavi, after retreat, sent a letter to Shaybak Khan, in which he observed : "You had written that if the idea of performing the holy pilgrimage of Islam had come to my mind in the near future I would proceed towards Iraq and Azarbayjan. In its reply I had precisely mentioned that I also had determined to pay my homage, to Ali Ibn-i-Al Reza- peace be upon him and circumambulate the scented resting abode of that Superhuman being. At present, I am proceeding towards that direction with great haste. As you did not fulfill your promise, therefore, I have raised my world capturing banners towards the sacred city of Mash-had.
   See: *Asnad Wa Mukatibat-i-Tarikhi-i Shah Ismail Safavi*, p.76.

he was sixty one and had ruled for eleven years from 906 A.H. (1500 A.D.) to 916 A.H. (1510 A.D.), till the time of his death.[1] After his death his son Timur Sultan minted the coin in Samarqand and Ubaid Khan, his nephew, declared him the king there. This Uzbek ruler kept disturbed the frontiers of Persia for several years.

SHAH ABBAS I AND THE OTTOMAN TURKS:

Shah Abbas I came to power in 996 A.H./1587 A.D., Corresponding to the sixteenth year of accession of Sultan Murad III (982-1003 A.H./1574-1595 A.D.) to the throne of the Ottoman empire. By that time the chief Ottoman Turks had occupied the regions lying in the vicinity of Qara Bagh, Ganja, Tabriz, Sarab, Shehr-i-nehavand and the territories of Luristan and Hamadan provinces, which were considered parts of Persia. Confronted with such a situation the young Safavi king having no choice, took recourse to measures which might bring about reforms inside the country; he had also to check the continued aggression of the Uzbeks on the Eastern and North Eastern borders of his realm. In this regard he sought the help of Akbar, the Mughal emperor of

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1. By the order of Shah Ismail Safavi, after separating the head of Shaybak Khan from his body it was filled with husk and was sent to Bayazid II, Sultan of the Ottoman empire with the following message :

> "This has been heard by me that it was mentioned in your assembly that" I see wonderful wealth in the head of Shaybak Khan. The head that you had seen full of riches, had been stuffed by me with husk, by the Divine help and support of the sacred Imams. Now this has been sent to you".

The Skull of Shaybak Khan was set in a gold bowl to make a drinking vessel for Safavi monarch. In his assembly of paradial design, this vessel was filled with wine to be circulated there. His body was cut into pieces and parts of it were sent to different parts of the country. See : Allah Datta, *Jahangusha-i-Khaqan* p.380. Rumlu, *Ahsan Ut Tawarih*, p.161.

Hindustan. At the same time he made peace[1] with the Ottoman Sultan in the year 999 A.H./1590 A.D.

During all the thirteen years of this peace agreement, which he had made with the Ottoman Sultan for certain reasons, he was restrained and saw to it that cordial relations between the two countries were maintained. With this object in view he sent his envoy to the Ottoman court with a letter of condolence on the death of Sultan Murad (1003 A.H./1594 A.D.) and felicitation on the accession of Sultan Murad III. In his letter he laid much stress on strong cordial relations between the two countries.[2]

In the meantime Shah Abbas I, overpowered the hostile Uzbeks on the one hand and maintained law and order inside the country by suppressing the rebels with these measures on the other. He also equipped his army with cannons and gradually prepared himself to avenge the humiliating defeat as a result of which he had to sign a treaty with the Ottomans in a very disgraceful manner.

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1. This agreement stipulabted: (a) the official transfer of the regions mentained above to the Ottoman empire. (b) mutual repatriation of Prisones of war. (c) mutual devisal of protection to deserlers (d) Non-condemnation of the first three caliphs of Islam (Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman) and Aisha, the spouse of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) in Persia and that (e) Haider Mirza the nephew of Shah Abbas I would be kept as hostage at the Ottoman court.

2. At the end of this letter Shah Abbas I had written: "It is expected that the bondage of peace and well being that had been strengthened by the felicity of equity and kind favour of that exalted king, residing in his heavenly abode, would be stronger under the excellent aspiration of Your Majesty the lord of the slaves, of the glory of Alexander and dignity of Kisra" (i.e. Naushervan the just). For further detail, See: Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, p.351.

Though Shah Abbas I received the letter of the Ottoman Sultan[1] in the year 1006 A.H./1597 A.D. which was sent to him through Zulfiqar Khan for strengthening the peaceful relations, he had been looking for such an opportunity to strike the Ottoman below the belt.

The ground for the fulfillment of this dream was paved by the capture of Nehavand city in 997 A.H./1579 A.D. One of the Ottoman Turk chiefs, Sanan Pasha, known as Chughan Ughli had built a fort there. The fort remained under the possession of the Ottoman Turks, in terms of the peace treaty of the year 999 A.H./1590 A.D. During these thirteen years the Ottoman soldiers were supplied their provision by the ruler of Baghdad. On the death of Sultan Murad Sultan Muhammad ascended the throne. The new Sultan's involvement in war with Jalalian[2] and the revolt in Baghdad caused delay in the supply of provision to the Nahavand fort. Consequently the garrison took to plundering the estates of the Persians. When Shah Abbas I, received this news, he sent Hasan Khan, the

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1. Iskandar Beg, Ibid, p.372. Yusuf-i-Valih writes: "Zulfiqar Khan carried with him the letter of victory, on his return. It was given to the Ottoman Sultan," See: *Khuld-i-Barin*, manuscript copy No.253, Majlis-i-Shoura-i Islami, fol.94ª.

2. Yusuf-i-Valih writes about the revolt of Jalalian that:

   The people of Jalali clan, who came from the country of Rum, considered themselves the manifestation of Divine attributes. They are the class of people who have defied the political might and thrown off the Yoke' of Kaisar (the king of Rum). They live in the desert and resort to blood-shed, highwaymanship and plunder the cities. Mercy, forgiveness favour and Compassion are unknown to them. The first man who took recourse to the innovation of this condemnable faction in this period in that territory was known as Qara Yazichi who raised the head of hostility and hoisted the banner of revolt. He was given publicity by insignificant writers of accused thinking of that region. He appeared on the scene during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Khan son of Sultan Murad Khan. First he showed hostility and obstinacy, then took to banditry and started robbing the traders and the travellers of that country. This practice of brigandage contributed a lot to the formation of an army that consisted of four to five thousand highway men. He plundered and looted and carried his dream of excellence and exaltation to grave. See: *Khuld-i-Barin*, Ms. No. 253, fol.263ᵇ and 264ª.

governor of Hamadan province, to capture the Nahavand fort. The fort was captured with the help of Persians who had become tired of the oppressions of the Ottomans and was plundered by the order of Shah Abbas.

At the same time, when the fort of Nehavand was captured, Ghazi Beg, a Kurdish chief of Salmas clan, revolted against the Turk ruler of Tabriz. After the capture of Qarin Yaraq fort, he expressed his loyalty to Shah Abbas I and paid obesiance to the Safavi court. All these events took place at the time when the Ottman emperor, Sultan Muhammad III, had become physically quite emaciated because of advanced age. This created chaotic conditions in Anatolia and disturbed Mesopotamia. Shah Abbas I took advantage of this opportunity and started hostility in Azarbayjan province. In this way, during a span of four years, from 1012-1016 A.H./1603-1607 A.D., he took back several cities of Azarbayjan province, namely Tabriz (the firt capital of the Safavis), Irvan, Nakhjavan, Maku, Ganja, Badkuba, Darband and Shammakhi, which had been under the occupation of the Ottoman Turks and were now annexed to the territory of Persia.

Anyhow, the negotiations which were held during the years 1020, 1022, and 1025 A.H./1611, 1613, and 1616 A.D., resulted in signing a peace treaty on the 15th of the month of Shawwal 1027 A.H./26th Sept. 1617 A.D. In terms of this treaty, both the governments accepted the boundary lines of their territories stipulated in the Masia agreement that was made in 969 A.H./1561 A.D. between Shah Tahmasb Safavis and Sultan Solaiman Qanuuni.

It should also be mentioned here that the relations of Persia with European countries during the reign of Shah Abbas I reached its zenith, for the

following reasons: First, help from European countries to meet the attack of the Ottoman Turks and the second was to attract the attention of European traders for Persian merchandise, particularly the silk of this country. In the first instance, what tempted the European heads of the states to maintain cordial relations with Persia was the dreaded presence of the Ottoman empire, the common enemy of Europe and Persia. The Ottomans put obstructions in the way of European countries who wanted to make the East their market. In the second instance the main object was the silk ware of Persia. As this country lies on silk route and very close to the Persian Gulf, it was practically possible for it to make its access to markets of Hindutan in the East and establish direct contacts with commercial parts of Europe and the Mediterranean. What made the climate so favourable for such good relations of Persia with European countries was the kindness and benevolence of Shah Abbas to Christians, particularly the Armenians.

Shah Abbas I, was fanatically hostile to the Muslims of the Sunni sect, sufis and Nuqtavis where as Akbar in Hindustan was quite the reverse of him. He had great regard for all religions and respected the people of every sect, creed and belief. Shah Abbas I, however, had a soft corner for the Christians, because he wanted to establish friendly ties with his contemporary European rulers and also win the confidence of the Pope, who wielded great moral and spiritual influence on all those European countries who paid allegiance to the Catholic Church. Whenever an envoy came from there he was accorded a warm welcome at his court. He acceded even to such requests as were from his religious and political points of view against the interest of the country.

Iskandar Beg, the secretary to Shah Abbas I, writes: "The European rulers and the Christian kings coming from Poland, Austria, France, England, Holland, Portugal, Spain and pope-the head of Christian kings, successor to Lord Christ (peace be upon him being one of our prophets) and the leaders of all Christian sects have associated themselves with his lordship (Shah Abbas I) devotedly when they heard of his justice and good behaviour with human beings, in spite of the great distances from one place to another, and the hurdles of seas and oceans. The sacred threshold always seethes with the arrivals and departures of the multi-lingual messengers and with the presents that they bring from every region."[1]

These relations between Persia and the European countries prepared the ground for mutual understanding in the fields of Science, technology and various

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1. Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, p.759.

other subjects, including art and literature.[1] The European travellers who visited this country have much to say on this topic.[2]

But these mutual relations caused irreparable loss to Persia and the Persian society. They facilitated the task of the European Colonial powers and afforded them ample opportunity of strengthening their base in Persia. The free flow of political, economic and religious missions to this land gave them an opportunity of collecting data for exploiting its natural resources. In the end, such agreements were made as proved harmful in every respect to Persia. In the name of developing the country for appearance sake, they made commercial pacts and thus they obtained many concessions and infiltrated their culture in

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1. For detailed information, See: *Nakhustin ruyaroui ha-i andishagaran-i-Iran ba du ruye Tamaddun-i-burzhvazi-i-Gharb* (the first contact of Iranaian thinkers with the double standard bourgeoisie culture of European culture), by Abdul Hadi Haieri, published by Amir Kabir, Tehran, 1367 A.H. (1988 A.D.) pp.147 and 182, See Also: *Iran-i-Safavi az didgah-i-Safar Nama ha-i-Arupaian* (Persia of Safavid period, from the view point of European travellers), by Dr. Sibila Shustar walsar, translated into Persian with marginal notes by : Dr. Ghulam Reza Varahram, pb, Amir Kabir, Tehran, 1364 A.H. (1985 A.D), third chapter (political relations between Iran and Europe), pp.74-115.

2. Some of these European accounts are:

I, Anthony Sherly, *the narration of his travels into Persia* (London 1613).

II, Pietro della valle. *viaggi in lettere familiare al sou amics Mario Schipans* etc. (Roma 1650).

III, Adam Olearius, *Vermehite heue Beschrey-bung der mosk-ovitischen und Persian chen Johann Albercht von Mandel sloh:* Morgen landische Reise besch reibung in: Adam Olearius, vermehrte ext.

IV, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *les six voyage...quil a fait en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes* (Paris, 1681)

V, Jean Chardin *voyages du chevalier chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'orient.* 10 Bd. (Paris, 1811).

VI, Mar - Pere Martin Sanson *Voyages ou relation de l'etet present du royaume de Perse* (Paris 1695)

VII, Engelbert Kampfer *Amoenitatum exoticar um politico-physico*-1712) Medicorum Fuscicuti, V.(Lemgo).

every sphere of life. They were granted immunity from the laws of Persia with the result that they started interfering with judicial matters, political affairs, propagated Christianity with the help of their priests, received his Majesty's permission to establish Catholic church, laid the foundation of a cathedral at Julfa, Isfahan, published their religious literature in Persian and established cordial relations with-Persian traders, particularly with Armenian Christians and their religious bodies. They exercised such a great influence on the Persian society that they even invited Shah Abbas I to embrace their faith.[1]

Besides, even the royal court could not escape their influence. They were delegated the power of appointing political missions. Moreover, they were always busy intriguing and instigated the Safavis rulers against the Ottomans, on mere false promises of military help from these European states. The sum-total of all the intrigues and internecine activities of the European agents provocateurs resulted in wars which weakened the Muslim base and Europe remained safe from the invasions of the Ottoman Turks. The Ottomans were undoubtedly equally oppressive and corrupt,[2] but they were any how believed to be a great Muslim power to reckon with and they always met the challenges of the Europeans, who were always against the prosperity of Islam.

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1. *Travel accounts of Antonio de Gouvea*, published by Roum, in 1646 A.D. pp.134, 173, 442, and 443.

2. This is to be mentioned here that, some exceptions have been taken by Uzbeks and the Ottoman rulers to the character of the Safavi Kings. They are not to be hushed up. For example, Abdullah Khan Beg Uzbek had written to Shah Tahmasb I, that lying prostrate to one other than God Almighty, is not permissible in Islam, It was rather blasphemy, he warned, it was practised in his dynasty to the greatest extent. The Uzbek chief had every right to raise this point because, neither the Uzbeks nor the Ottomans ever allowed this non Islamic practice at their courts. For further information See *Mukatibat-i-Shah Tahmasb Safavi* (letters of Shah Tehmasb Safavi) compiled by Abdul Husain Nawai, p.42.

After some time this was admitted by Shah Abbas I and he expressed his regret to two Catholic priests, F.Diego and Bernard Dazevedo when they came to Persia from Europe in 1016 A.H./1607 A.D. and paid him their visit near Shammakhi, a city in Shirvan province. They requested him to exercise his influence on the patriarch of the Armenian of Julfa to recognize the Pope as their spiritual head. He gave them a positive reply and promised that he would do that, though he had rejected this petition earlier. But, after a few days, when he got the news at Tabriz that Rodophell, the king of Germany had made peace with the Ottoman Sultan, he expressed his indignation to their priests and observed.

"When the Christian kings do not firmly abide by their words and make peace with the enemy, why do you then ask me to permit you to have a church in my country, pressurise the Armenians to submit to you and allow the bells to toll? This is my fault that I do not turn you out from my land."

"I have never seen anything from your kings except promise and letter. Their action is what I see." Anyhow, it was the foreign policy of Shah Abbas I, which opened the gates of Persia to European countries.[1]

Anyhow, it was the foreign policy of Shah Abbas I, which opened the gates of Persia to European countries. It was he who gave them the opportunity of desiring to control the Persian Gulf. This was, to all intent and purpose, the open threat to the sovereignty and solidarity of the country, but Shah Abbas I,

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1. *Safarnama-i-Antonio de Gouvea* (Travel accounts of Antonio De Gouvea), pp.426-427, Relacam emque Se tratam as guerras e grandes quo alcancon O grand Rey de Pesia Xa Abas do Grao Turco Mahometto et seu Filho Ahmethe etc. (Lisbon 1611).

was very far sighted, he read in between the lines and perceived what was lying underneath. He dragged Portugal, Spain, England and Holland into competition with each other and there impeded and arrested their advance in the country. He took advantage of their rivalry and did what was beneficial to Persia. Consequently in the year 1022 A.H./1613 A.D. he liberated the port Gambrun (now called Bandar Abbas or Abbas port) from the grip of the aggressive Portugese and in 1031 A.H./1621 A.D. turned them out from the ports of Qishm and Hurmuz with the help of Britishers. He also invited Holland and Venice for the purpose of trade to Persia so that the British plan of monopolising the Persian markets might not be successful. Not only that, he also sent Persian traders to Europe with their merchandise particularly Persian silk.

ROLE OF UZBEKS

during the reign of Shah Abbas I and Akbar

This period, witnessed a new turn in the political affairs of Hindustan and Persia with the rising power of Abdullah Khan Uzbek son of Iskandar Khan. He was born in 940 A.H./1523 A.D. He captured Bukhara[1] and became its sovereign ruler in 968 A.H/1561 A.D. At the same time, he gave the government of Transoxiana in the charge of his father. AbdUllah, in the year

1. Bukhara is one of the ancient cities of Transoxiana. Now, it is a part of Uzbekistan Republic. During the Samarid period (271-389 A.H/884-998 A.D.) it was the capital of the Samarid dynasty. This period saw the revival of Persian literature. Besides, it has been an important centre of Islamic civilization and a vast commercial market of Central Asia. In the year 616 A.H./1219 A.D. Chingiz Khan after ransacking it, set it ablaze. In the year 671 A.H/1359 A.D. it was again plundered by Abaqa Khan. In 1285 A.H/1868 A.D. it became a part of Soviet Union but now it is one of the cities of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

979 A.H/1572 A.D., captured the city of Balkh[1] and after the death of his father (990 A.H/1583 A.D.) he declared himself the ruler of Transoxiana. Encouraged by his sovereignty of Transoxiana, he expanded his area of influence with the result that he took the region of Badakhshan in 991 A.H./1584 A.D. and also ransacked KhUrasan province in 995 A.H./1588 A.D. and after capturing a great part of it, he resorted to a large scale massacre in that region.

As the above mentioned regions were continguous to the boundaries of Hindustan and Persia at that time and Abudllah Khan was a strong adversary of the Shiite government founded in Persia, he therefore wanted to make an alliance with Akbar, so that he could overthrow the regime of Safavi dynasty. He appeared on the scene to hamper the cordial relations between the two countries. With this object in view he sent his envoy to the court of Akbar for the first time in the year 980 A.H/1570 A.D. He tried his utmost to win over Akbar by arousing his sectarian sentiments and also mentioned the difficulties the Sunni pilgrims faced in route to Mecca, while crossing the border of Persia and how they were plundered by the local people. He also drew Akbar's attention towards the problem of Qandhar and promised that if the rule of the irreligious and heretics of Persia would be overthrown by him, he would certainly hand it over to him to form a part of his imperial domain.

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1. Balkh is also an ancient historical city. In the middle ages it was the centre of Balkh region, situated on the Balkh river, which has now dried up. At present it is located in the North of Afghanistan and looks like a small village. In pre-Islamic days it was an important Buddhist centre. The Vihara, called Naubahar was built here. In the Zoroastrian religion also it was considered a significant place. During the time of Qutaiba ibn-i-Muslim (96 A.H/714 A.D the whole region was occupied by Muslims. During the Mongol invasion it was captured by Chingiz Khan (in 617 A.H/1220 A.D) whose army plundered this city and killed its inhabitants. During the Timurid period it regained its past glory, but after the development of the city called Mazar Sharif, at a distance of twenty kilometers from here, it deteriorated rapidly. Now it is a city of historical ruins.

Regarding this, Abul Fazl writes that though Akbar knew that Abdullah Khan Uzbek had made all preliminary preparations for capturing Transoxiana, he did not receive his envoy warmly when he came for the first time. At that time, Abul Fazl continues, Akbar gave only a verbal reply to his envoy for the implicit purpose of containing the ambition of Abdullah Khan Uzbek and having diplomatic relations with him. But, when his mission came again to his court in 985 A.H/1577 A.D., the situation was quite different. Akbar knew that Abdullah Khan Uzbek had extended his power, and Persia, after the death of Shah Tahmasb, was passing through an internal chaos and confusion. The situation there was in favour of Abdullah. He had designs to reestablish the power of the Uzbeks in Khurasan province and with this intention he had proposed to make a combined attack on Persia.[1]

Akbar, in response to the second envoy of Abdullah sent his diplomatic mission headed by Mirza Foulad. The reply given by his embassy to Abdullah Khan Uzbek exhibited the firmness of his resolve though the Qandhar problem was yet a bone of contention for him.[2]

But, he was himself satisfied as he knew that the policy adopted by Abdullah Khan regarding the expansion of his territorial fronties would certainly disturb the equilibrium of power and bring him great loss. More important than that was the age old friendship of the two dynasties and this moral binding restrained him from giving a categorical reply to the request that he had made so

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1. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, p.368.

2. Akbar, in one of his letters had written to Shah Abbas that after the death of Shah Tahmasb, I, anarchy was prevalent in Persia. See : *Zindagani-i-Shah Abbas* (life of Shah Abbas) by Nasr Ullah Falsafi, Vol.II, III, p.284.

boldly. Further, clarifying the misunderstanding that the Persian were "Rafezi"[1] (heretic), he said that there was no doubt in it that the ruling dynasty of Persia was not the follower of Sunnite sect of Islam, but that they were the descendants of the holy family of prophet Muhammad. Besides, he argued, the sectarian difference could not be a reasonable justification for attacking and capturing that country. As for the Persians of Shiite sect creating troubles for the sunnit Muslims of Transoxiana who wanted to cross the borders of Persia to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca, he suggested they could go via Gujrat, which had been captured by him, and make sea voyage and in that way they could perform their pilgrimage without any hindrance from the Persians.[2] In regard to the dispute of Qandhar and to make it again part of Hindustan, he replied that as the chiefs of that region were friendly to him, therefore he did not feel it necessary to take it back from Persia. From the contents of the reply that Akbar gave to Abdullah, particularly from that part which was related to the Qandhar dispute, it is evident that he wanted to restrain Abdullah Khan from taking an aggressive measure against Persia.

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1. Rafezi is a derogatory term used by Muslims of Sunnite sect for the Muslims of Shiite sect. The reason which has been mentioned in some traditions of the shiites of Kufa, that when Zaid, the adopted son of Ali accepted the legitimacy of the caliphate of Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman, some of his followers deserted him. These deserters were therefore called by this abusive term. See: Dr. Muhammad Javad Mashkur, *Tarikh-i-Shia Wa Firqaha-i-Islam*, third edition, Tehran, 1362 A.H./1983 A.D, p.148.

2. Mullah Abdul Qadir Badauni has quoted the religious decree of *Makhdoum ul Molk Sheikh ul Islam* (the leader of Muslims of Sunni sect) of the tie of Akbar, who declared "It is not obligatory to go for the performance of holy pilgrimage of Mecca". When the reason of it was asked, he argued; "There are two ways to go to Mecca, one via Iraq and the other via Gujrat. While travelling by land, the abusive language of Qazilbashis must be heard and for taking sea route one should be humiliated by Europeans by filling in their documents, which bear the images of Mary and Christ and that is no less than idolatory. Therefore, in both the events it is forbidden. See : *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p.203.

The second delegation of Abdullah Khan headed by Mir Qoraish came to the court of Akbar in 994 A.H./1586 A.D. In the year 991 A.H./1583 A.D., Abdullah defeated Shahrukh Mirza Timurid and captured Balkh. After the death of Mirza Hakim (993 A.H./1583 A.D) Akbar established his direct control on Kabul.[1] The addition of Badakhshan to the territory of Abdollah Khan brought him closer to the borders of Mughal empire. The direct control of Akbar on Qandhar was, in a sense, close to the region where Abdullah Khan wanted to put into action his power seeking designs. His success depended to a large extent on the impartiality of Akbar; if otherwise, his plan of attacking Khurasan would have gone awry. Having given much thought to these considerations, Abdullah Khan wrote a letter to Akbar, in which he mentioned that Mir Uoraish had been delegated the authority to convey to Akbar the military design the Uzbeks had in their mind to ransack Khurasan. In the letter he had cherished the desire to make alliance with Akbar so as to crush the power of the infidel Safavis and to open the route for pilgrims to go to Mecca.[2] But, the message that Akbar sent to him, through Hakim Humayun, was the same he had dispatched earlier and reminded him that though the Safavis were not sunnite but were Sayyids, the descendants of the holy family of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and that they had maintained age - old friendly relations with the Mughals and that as a number of Persian nobles had been hostile to their king, therefore, the Ottoman Sultan, consequently got the upper hand over

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1. Allami, *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, pp. 366-86. *Tarikh-i-Farishta* Vol.I, p.505.

2. *Abdullah Nama* or *Sharaf Nama-i-Shahi*, by Tanish bin mir Muhammad Bukhari, fol. 463 b.

Persia and that he would again plunder that country. He felt it his moral duty to help the ruler of Persia, particularly at the time when a delegation of Persia was on its way to Hindustan, Akbar concluded.[1]

Hakim Humayun, the envoy of Akbar, was yet on his way to Transoxiana, when Abdullah Khan invaded Khurasan in 995 A.H/1587 A.D. and occupied a great part of it.[2] as a result of which a treaty was signed between Abdullah Khan and Akbar. In terms of this treaty Badakshan and Khurasan were to remain under the control of Abdullah Khan, while Kabul and Qandhar were handed over to Akbar. The Hindukush range, (called Hindukuh in contemporary sources) formed the border between the two kingdoms.[3]

This mutual agreement comprised the undertaking that none of the two governments would interfere in the regions of their influence. But none of the parties honoured it. Abdullah Khan and his ambitious son Abdul Mu'men had set their eyes on Qandhar, though they abstained from taking any decisive measures in this regard.[4] Akbar, too did not give up his interest in Badakhshan, but when the heritary ruler of Sistan was threatened by the Uzbeks and he sought

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1. A delegation of Persia headed by Abbas Mirza was sent for the first time in 991 A.H./1583 The second time it came to Hindustan in 899 A.H. 1590. This delegation was headed by Yadgar Sultan Rumulu. Akbar seems to have referred to the second mission, and he expected that Shah Abbas I, would seek his help against the Uzbaks.

2. *Abdullah Name* has given detailed account regarding the besiege and capture of Herat. See. Fol. 465a - 96b.

3. Abdullha Khan Uzbek had written in this regard that "... as there is affinity, since former time, and a bondage of sincerity between the two, therefore, this has been settled and decided that the Hindukuh and Qandhar would be the line of demarcation between the two empires". Later, when Akbar wrote a letter to Shah Abbas I, he pointed out that the Hindu Kush was the boundary line of his empire. See Allami, Ibid, Vol. III, p.657.

4. Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, p.331, Badauni, Ibid, Vol.III, p.402 and Allami, Ibid, Vol.III, p.669.

help from him in 1005 A.H./1697 A.D., he restrained himself from interfering in that dispute and directed the Mughal Governor of Qandhar to avoid any sort of conflict with the Uzbeks.

Shah Abbas I and Akbar

Shah Abbas I was proclaimed the ruler of Persia, at the age of 18 years in 996 A.H./1578 A.D., when Akbar had already passed thirty three years of his reign on the throne of Hindustan. The young Safavi king when he was crown-prince had revolted against his father in Khurasan province to obtain power and wanted to defend that province from the attack of the Uzbeks. He had sent Murshid Tabrizi to the court of Akbar, as his envoy and had requested him for help. As Abbas Mirza (called Shah Abbas I after his accession) had revolted against his father, Akbar did not give a positive reply to his envoy. Again, in the third year of his reign when the Uzbeks renewed their attacks, he tried to establish cordial relations with Akbar and sought his help to repulse the Uzbeks. As he found himself in a difficult position, he sent Yadgar Sultan Rumulu, as his first ambassador to the court of Akbar in 999 A.H./1590 A.D. with his letter.[1]

When the Persian envoy arrived at the court of Akbar, he presented the letter of Shah Abbas I. The Safavis king reiterated the firm cordial relations

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1. In his letter, Shah Abbas I, had introduced his special envoy as having surpassed all his courtiers in far sightedness and sound understanding who could solve all the problems related to state affairs and could help establish cordial relations between the Safavi and the Mughal court. For further details See : *Tuhfa-i-Shahi* by Abdul Husain Nasiri-i-Tusii, Ms. Badlian lib. , No.S.P. 1838, photo copy No. 3532-3535 (Central lib. Univ. of Tehran), *Tarikh-i Ravabit-i-Khareji-i-Iran dar Dawra-i-Shah Abbas-i-Awwal-i-Safavi* (History of Foreign relations of Iran during the reign of Shah Abbas I Safavi), by : Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, Tehran 1374 A.H. (1995 A.D.) p.176, and also *Zindigani-i-Shah Abbas-i-Awwal* (Life of Shah Abbas I) Vol.I and II, p.278.

between Hindustan and Persia during the reign of Shah Tahmasb I and the Mughal king Humayun, and showed his inclination to restore and revive them. In the same letter he also pointed out that after the death of Shah Tahmasb and Hamza Mirza (elder brother of Shah Abbas who died in 994 A.H./1586 A.D.) he was expecting the Mughal Ambassador to condole the death and offer greetings on the occasion of his accession to the throne of Persia.[1]

Abulfazl, in his accounts, has mentioned that, when Akbar received the letter of Shah Abbas I, he called the council of his advisors. Some of them advised him to send one of the princes to liberate Khurasan province from the Uzbeks. But, keeping in view the internal chaotic conditions of Persia and the killing of some chiefs of the country by the order of Shah Abbas on the one hand and the friendly relations which were established by Abdullah Khan and his son Abdul Mu'min, who had sent their diplomatic mission to the court of Akbar, during the same year (i.e. 999 A.H./1591 A.D.).[2] on the other it was decided that the diplomatic mission of Shah Abbas should be treated as null and void, particularly at the time when a mutual understanding had been reached between Abdullah Khan Uzbek and Akbar, regarding the demarcation of boundary lines between their countries and the areas under the control of both the sovereigns.

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1. The text of the letter reads as:

   When His Majesty, located in Paradise (Humayun) put his step, felicitated with blissfulness, in the vicinity of this region (Persia), it was decided that there would remain such mutual friendship between the two sovereigns that there would appear no breach in the brotherly relations and sincere friendship. This friendship was evident on the auspicious occasion of the accession of his Majesty (Shah Tahmasb) residing in Heaven... This friendship between the two of us was based on solidly based pillars. The gates of correspondence on both sides were open and on account of this all the other rulers of the time felt envious. Nasrullah Falsafi, ibid. p.277.

2. Allami, *Akbar Nama*, Vol.III, p.578.

Though none of them was abiding exactly by the particulars of the agreement, they were showing regard to each other. It was on account of this, that when Akbar sent his reply through the envoys of Abdullah Khan, he referred to this matter and wrote to him that Shah Abbas had sent Yadgar Sultan to seek his help against the Uzbeks, but his petition had been rejected.[10]

The Persian envoy was kept waiting for five years at the court. This made clear to the Persian mission that Akbar was disinclined to accept the proposal of Shah Abbas I. The reason was that he was constantly thinking of capturing the region of Qandhar and this can be easily surmised that his stay in the Punjab for a long time was necessitated by his desire to occupy Qandhar. It was because of this that he did not give warm reception to the Persian envoy, and this state of affairs continued until he had actually captured it.

Occupation of Qandhar and normalisation of relations between Persia and Hindustan

Qandhar, during the reign of Shah Tahmasb Safavi, was governed by the Safavi princes. When Shah Abbas came to power as sovereign, he was engaged in suppressing internal bickerings on the one hand, and making efforts to repulse the attacks of Uzbeks on Khurasan province on the other. The Uzbeks were struggling to capture the fort of Qandhar and had put all their might into action to get hold of it. The Safavi princes, i.e. Muzaffar Mirza and Rustam Mirza, were not able to resist their attacks. They also knew that Shah Abbas would not help them, because he was already busy with internal problems. Rustam Mirza, who did not get along well with his younger brother, Muzaffar Mirza, started

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1. Ibid, p.588.

negotiations with Sharif Khan, the Mughal governor of Ghazna, and offered to surrender himself to the Mughal court.

The elder brother, Muzaffar Mirza in spite of the letter that Abdollah Khan Uzbek had written to him and in which he had guaranteed him safe conduct surrendered the region of Qandhar to the emperor Akbar. In this way the Mughal army entered Qandhar without any bloodshed and in no time turned the Uzbeks out of the regions, namely Zamindawar and Garmsir. It is evident from the above facts that the stress laid by Uzbeks on Quandhar and on the areas adjacent to the territory of Mughal empire forced the Safavi princes to surrender that region to the Mughals. Besides, the Safavi princes thought it wiser that Qandhar then occupied by the Uzbeks should go to the Mughals. Perhaps such was also the view of Shah Abbas I, because after the transfer of Qandhar to the Mughal administration no reaction was shown by him, and therefore, no mention of it has been made in the contemporary records of the Safavi history.

The point that after realising the long-cherished dream of capturing Qandhar and allowing Yadgar Sultan Rumlu to go back to his country, after keeping him waiting for five years, bears specific significance. The envoy of Persia was kept detained for such a long period with this intention that Akbar wanted to show his resentment to Safavis because, they had occupied Qandhar, Akbar, after recapturing that region felt satisfied and took measures to normalize politcal relations. Here, it is quite evident that the Qandhar dispute had embittered relations between the two countries, because, when the envoy of Persia was going back to his country, Akbar appointed two persons, namely

Zia'ul Mulk Kashi and Abu Nasir Khafi,[1] as envoy and the supervisor respectively of the presents that he had sent to the king of Persia.

In the long letter that Akbar wrote to Shah Abbas I, he admitted that the complaint of the Persian king was justified that it was he (Akbar) who was responsible for the delay in maintaining warm cordial relations with Safavi king. The reasons for this he stated were: firstly, he was engaged in capturing the Kashmir region, and secondly he was occupied with combating the hostile Afghans and Bilouchis "who were like the thorns in the way of the travellers going to Persia". Besides, the route to Persia was passing through chaotic conditions, after the death of Shah Tahmasb, therefore, he did not feel it proper, to send an official envoy to say his condolence. Keeping in mind the internal condition of Persia, he observed, he wanted to send his force to help the Safavi king, but this measure, too could not take place due to the dispute of Qandhar. Regarding this problem he explained that:

The ruling princes of Qandhar were not as loyal to the Safavis, as they should be. "They showed laziness and delay whenever their mutual assistance and cooperation was required by the king of that exalted dynasty." The Mughal army was sent to get hold of Qandhar in order to persuade the princes to serve the king by joining hands with the Mughal army and abide by the command of the Sovereign of Persia in the way he wanted.

Supremely calculating and shrewd, Akbar also pointed out to him his friendly relations with Abdullah Khan Uzbek. In this way he nipped in the bud

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1. This statement is from *Akbar Nama*, while *Tarikh-i-Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* and *Khuld-i-Barin* mention that Mirza Zia Kashi and Abu Nasr Khafi were the envoys of Akbar. Allami, Ibid. Falsafi, Ibid, p.279.

any possible request for help from the side of Shah Abbas I against the Uzbeks. While enumerating the reasons for keeping the Persian envoy waiting, he mentioned that though the Mughals were engaged in making war preparations at Thatta and Sindh, the basic hinderance in the way of sending a force to Persia, was the domination of the Uzbeks over Khurasan province, and their predatory activities in the regions of Qandhar and Sistan had made the land route unsafe. He at the same time referred to the internal chaotic conditions of Persia and gave some good suggestions regarding social and religious duties and the maintenance of law and order in the country.

In the events of 1005 A.H./1596., Iskander Beg recorded the arrival of Yadgar Sultan and the Hindustan envoys at the court of Persia in the year 1003 A.H./1594 A.D.[1]

This was the first perfect diplomatic mission of Akbar during the last forty years which arrived at the Safavi Court and was, therefore received warmly by Shah Abbas I. This mission after staying for one year at Isfahan, sought permission of the king of Persia to go back. Manuchehr Beg Ishik Aqasi also accompanied this mission on its way back and carried the letter of Shah Abbas I for Akbar. In the letter, Shah Abbas I had shown no reaction of his to the occupation of Qandhar region by the Mughal army. He only wrote about the internal condition of his country during the reign of his father, the circumstances that led to his accession to the throne of Persia, the domestic problems that he was confronted with, aggression of the Uzbeks and his confrontation with them.[2]

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1. Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* p.361, *Akbar Nama,* Vol.III, p.656.

2. Iskandar Beg, Ibid, Valeh Isfahani, *Khuld-i-Barin* Vol.IV, fol. 275b.

Minuchihr reached the Mughal court in 1007 A.H./1598 A.D. Simultaneously the news of the death of Abdullah Khan and later that of his son, Abdul Mumin Khan reached him, which gave an opportunity to Shah Abbas I, to defend Khurasan from the threat of the Uzbek attack. In the month of Muharram 1007 A.H./July, 1598 A.D., he entered the city of Herat as a victorious monarch and sent the letter of victory to Akbar through Mirza Ali Beig, in which he had written about Qandhar as follows :

> "By the grace of divine favour and the spiritual support of Shielding paternity the whole region of Khurasan, which was occupied by the enemies, has been captured alongwith some thing more than that. No region, except Qandhar, which is in the possession of the dependents of Your Majesty, has been left under some one else. The unity which binds us together (in the light of that) that region (Qandhar) too, in fact is under my control and not in the hands of an alien.[1]

The Mughal emperor of Hindustan who had been sensing for four years the danger of Uzbeks on the North Western border of his country observed the situation, while staying alert in the Punjab. He left that province after the death of Abdullah Khan and his son Abdul Mu'min Khan and came back to Agra. But in view of the political conditions of Khurasan the Persian government felt more threatened by the Mughals than by the Uzbeks. From the attitude of Safavis it

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1. Iskandar Beg, Ibid, p.372.

was clearly evident, that they were very keen to get their hold over Qandhar, because they were closely associated with that region for long. But Akbar always ignored the petition of Shah Abbas I. As he knew that his position in Qandhar was very strong, and did not apprehend any attack from the side of Safavi, he therefore returned to Agra. It is also interesting and worth mentioning here, that Shah Abbas I, till the end of the reign of Akbar did not make any military attempt to capture Qandhar. But Farrah, the Governor of Khurasan and the commander-in-chief of the Persian army there took advantage of the opportunity captured the region of Zamindawar in 1013 A.H/1064 A.D., the regions of Garmsir and *Qila-i-bust*. As soon as Shah Abbas I, received this news he strongly condemned this action. Iskander Beg Munshi writes :

"When Farrah, the governor brought this news to the notice of His Majesty and stood close to the leg of the exalted throne, and apprised His Imperial Majesty, the shadow of God, of this event, which was necessitated by unavoidable circumstances, His Imperial Majesty did not appreciate. At this, His Majesty expressed if there had been no consideration of friendship, I would have preferred to capture Qandhar, and did not remain contented with Qila-i-Bust only.[1]

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1. Ibid, p.469.

CHAPTER - V

Cultural relations between Hindustan and Persia during

the reigns of Shah Abbas I and Akbar

(963-1014 A.H/1555-1605 A.D).

The cultures of Hindustan and Persia are as old as the history of civilization of the world itself. Historically Persian culture is usually divided into two distinct periods, i.e., pre-Islamic and post-Islamic. Yet, the people of Persia, living in Islamic age, preserved their ancient (pre-Islamic) culture and glorified it in the realm of language, literature, script, calligraphy, paintings, sculpture, architecture and various fine arts. This owning up of pre-Islamic legacy is also clearly evident in the cultural relations between Hindustan and Persia, which are centuries old. The cultures of these two countries are interconnected in such a manner that they look like the rings of a chain. Here, we shall make a brief survey from ancient time down to our age.

Cultural relations between Hindustan and Persia in pre-Islamic days (1600 B.C.)

Cultural relations between Persia and Hindustan distinctly start from 1600 B.C. when some clans of Arayans started their migration from central Asia and Caspian littoral, and occupied Iranian plateau.

This land, being a plateau has always been a bridge between the East and the West, which has been used throughout the ages by travellers, traders and the invaders of various tribes and clans. This is one of the reasons that the people of this region have always kept their direct relations with the other nations of the world and which resulted in the exchange of ideas, art and culture in general.[1]

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1. For further detail see: *The Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I p.458, published by Government of India in 1937 *Seyr-i-Tarikh* (a historical survey) by Gordon Childe, translated into Persian by Dr. Ahmad Behmanesh, 1358 A.H. (1972 A.D.), pp.117-120. and *Akhbar ul Hukama* (Accounts of the sages) by Jamaluddin bin Alqefti, edited in Egypt in the year 1336 A.H., p.39.

These relations between Hindustan and Persia also continued as usual in later periods. Here, we can refer to the reign of Cyrus (550 B.C.) who was contemporaneous with Mahavira (500 B.C.), the founder of Jainism. During the reign of Darius (522-486 B.C.) the Persians carried their attacks towards Indus valley in 550 B.C. and after, capturing that region called the twentieth satrap (the province). But, this attack in later period led to the development of cultural relations between the two countries, which also continued during Gupta period. Their contemporary in Persia were the kings of Achaemenid dynasty for whom the rulers of Gupta dynasty had great regard and had adopted their administrative system and court etiquettes. The word satrap was used for the governors of Hindustan throughout the fourth century B.C.[1]

Relations between Hindustan and Persia were also very cordial during the reign of Khusrau Parviz (590-628 A.D.), the Sassanid ruler of Persia, whose contemporary in Hindustan was Pulakesin II, ruler of Chalukya dynasty (608-642 A.D.). Their relations were so cordial that they had also established diplomatic relations, which are evident from one of the wall paintings, in one of the canvases of Ajanta. Firdausi, the greatest epic poet of Persia, has also mentioned in the Shahnama the diplomatic relations between Hindustan and Persia.[2] During the reign of Sassanid ruler Anushirvan, the just, the book of wisdom, called *Panjtantra* was carried from Hindustan to Persia by Borzuya,the chief physican of Anushirvan the just, and translated into Pahlavi which is still

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1. For further detail See: *The early History of India* by Vincent A.Smith, Oxford Press, 1904, p.129.

2. *Shahnama-i-Firdausi*, Bombay edition, 1266 A.H. p, 1068.

famous with the title *Kalila-o-Dimna*. This book was later translated into Arabic in prose and also in poetry and has left remarkable impression on Persian literature, particularly on the books related to moral teachings. This book has not only influenced Persian literature, but has also played an important role in introducing the culture of Hindustan to the whole world.[1]

RELATIONS BETWEEN HINDUSTAN AND PERSIA AFTER THE ADVENT OF ISLAM

After the emergence of Islam in Arabian peninsula, the Arabs though small in number, being united and full of zeal after embracing the new religion - defeated Khusrau Parviz Yazdgerd, the Sassanid ruler of Persia during the twentieth year of his reign. No doubt, Persia at that time was militarily a powerful country but, from religious and moral points of view the whole society was in a state of corruption and deterioration. The clergy as well as the ruling class had kept the common people under oppression, which made them detached from the affairs of state and indifferent to their religious matters. It was for this reason that when the Arabs started their attack on Persia, the soldiers of this country, being disheartened, were not prepared to meet the challenge. In some cases they provided such opportunity to the enemy that it caused the surrender of the Sassanid dynasty for ever.

The class discrimination, practised by the Sassanid rulers on their subjects forced them to bring about some change in their crippled society and accept some new rules, regulation, customs and faith. It was for this reason that when

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1. *Majmua-i-Maqalat* (a collection of articles) by Professor Hadi Hasan, with introduction by Dr.Ali Asghar Hikmat. Printed at Central government printing press, Hayderabad Deccan in 1965 A.D., p.35

the Muslims got victory over Persia, the Persians instead of showing any resistance received them with open arms. They also took pain for the propagation, progress and prosperity of Islam and by throwing off the yoke of imposed rule they surrendered to the new religion, i.e. Islam.[1]

No doubt, the Persians embraced Islam, the faith that originated in the Arab society but they did not get absorbed in Arab culture of pre-Islamic days of which the Arabs were very proud. On the contrary they struggled for securing their cultural identity as a nation and kept their art, culture and literature alive.

One of the examples of maintaining their cultural identity was the establishment of semi-independent state by Abu Muslim Khurasani, in Khurasan province in the year 130 A.H. (747 A.D.), which was at that time within the realm of the Abbasid caliphate (750-1258 A.D.) Besides, the Persians got such a strong hold over Baghdad, the capital of Abbasid caliphate, and influenced the Abbasid caliphs so much that they not only appointed Persian nobles to key posts but also adopted the etiquettes of the Sassani courts and were proud that they lived like Persian aristocrats.[2]

The nobles functioning at the court of the kings of Samanid dynasty, (279-389 A.H./892-998 A.D.) belonged to those families who were originally Persian by race. As they were very proud of their genealogy, they wanted to

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1. For detailed study see: *Khadamat-i-Mutaqabil-i-Islam-o-Iran* (Reciprocal services of Islam and Iran) by Murtaza Motahhari, Sadra publication, twelfth edition, vol.II, Tehran 1362 A.H, pp.80-142.

2. The Abbasid caliph Mansur (136-158 A.H./753-774 A.D.) took to Persian dress in 153 A.H./770 A.D. and forced his subjects to adopt Persian culture. For further details See: *Tarikh-i-tamadudn-i-Islami* (History of Islamic Culture) by Jurji Zaidan, edited by Dr.Husain Munis, Cairo, 1958 A.D, P.127.

preserve the literature that contained the achievements of their ancestors. It was for this reason that they paid much of their attention to the development of Persian literature. By the time the Tahiris (206-259 A.H./821-872 A.D.) and the Saffaris (247-393 A.H./862-1002 A.D.) came to power, ground was already prepared for the beginning of Persian literature under the patronage of these two ruling Persian dynasties. Rudaki Samarqandi (d.329 A.H./940 A.D.), Abu Shakur Balkhi (d.336 A.H./947 A.D.) and Abu Mansur Daqiqi (murdered in 365 A.H./975 A.D.) were such eminent poets, out of many others, as produced the masterpieces of Persian poetry, which created a sense of racial unity among the different tribes living in Transoxiana and Khurasan. Efforts were made for the revival of cultural heritage along with Islamic traditions. Though these regions were inhabited by Turkish speaking tribes, all the literary movements had started during their reign and under their patronage the result of which was that the idea of producing a national epic came into being in Khurasan.[1]

This was the time when the Persians came into direct contact with the people of the Indian sub-continent. The domination of the Ghaznavids (366-582 A.H./976-1186 A.D.) (though Turkish speaking, yet great patrons of Persian literature) over this region, particularly its northern part was stronger than ever. The gates of this contact were opened by the invasion of Amir Nasir Uddin Sabuktagin (366-387 A.H./976-997 A.D.) and his son Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (387-431 A.H./997-1039 A.D.), who ransacked this region seventeen times in the name of holy war against the infidels, but his main aim was to

1. For detailed study see: *Tarikh-i-Mardum-i-Iran* (History of the people of Iran) by Dr.Abdul Husain Zarrin Koub, Amir Kabir Publication, Tehran, 1371 A.H/1992 A.D, p.227.

plunder the wealth deposited here and there in this region and establish his strong hold over it.[1] This was follwed by, the people of Khurasan and TransoXiana coming in direct contact with the people of Hind.[2]

Sultan Mahmud compelled his contemporary rulers to send to his court men of learning under their patronage, if they had any. In this way he assembled many renowned poets, astrologers, astronomers, historians and scientists round him who were bound to be in attendance. Scholars like Abu Ali Sina (d. 428 A.D./1036 A.D.), commonly known as Avicenna in the scientific world, Abul Fazl Baihaqi (d.470 A.H./1077 A.D.) Abu Ali Miskawaih (d.421 A.H./1030 A.D.) Firdausi (D.411 A.H./1020 A.D.), Farrukhi (d.429 A.H./1037 A.H.) and Manuchihri (d.432 A.H./1040 A.D.) first gathered at Ghazna and later some of them shifted to Lahore with Mahmud's successors and descendants, who had made this region their second capital. In short, by the year 582 A.H./1186 A.D. Lahore was considered one of the great centres of learning in the realm Ghaznavid sultanate.

This city, besides being the centre of cultural, scientific and literary activities also became the abode of saints, Sufis and Islamic preachers. Here, the great scientist Abu Rayhan Albiruni, (d.440 A.H./1048 A.D.), the author *of Ma'lil Hind*,[3] the celebrated Saint Ali ibn-i-Usman Hajveri (d.465 A.H/1072

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1. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (The *history of Ghaznavian)*, translated by Hasan Anousha, Amir Kabir, Tehran, 1993 A.D, pp.132-133.

2. Short form of Hindustan, usually used by all Persian, Turkish and Arabic speaking peopie.

3. For further information see: *Tahgig Malil Hind*, translated into Persian by Minoucher Sadugi, Suha publication, published by Muassesa-i-Motaleat Wa Tahqiqat-i-Farhangi (the institute for cultural studies and research), Tehran. 1362 A.H./1982 A.D.)

A.D.) the compiler of the saintly book ***Kashf ul Mahjub***[1] (disclosure of the concealed secrets) in Persian and eminent poets Abul Faraj Runi (d.492 A.H./1098 A.D.) and Masud Sa'd Salman (d.514 A.H./1120 A.D.) not only made Persian culture in Indian sub-content popular but Abu Rayhan Albiruni led the vanguard in introducing the Hindu philosophy to Muslim society and then to the whole world.

It is noteworthy, that the Arabs though, during the days of the Caliphate of Usman (23-35 A.H./643-655 A.D.), Maaviya Son of Abi Sufyan (44 A.H. 664 A.D.) and Valid son of Abdul Malik Amavi sent their forces respectively under the command of Obaidullah son of Jabellate Alabdi (during the days of Usman), Haris son of Morrah Al Abdi, Mahtab son of Abi Sofrah (during the caliphate of Maaveya son of ibn-i-Sufyan) Muhammad ibn-i-Qasim Saqafi (during the period of Valid son of Abdul Malik Amavi) to invade Hindustan and finally the region of Sindh was captured by Muhammad ibn-i-Qasim and annexed to the caliphate of the Amavid dynasty.[2] But, these invasions failed to convey the teachings of Islam to the people of this part of the Indian sub-continent.

Even the invasion of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna did not prove fruitful and could not propagate Islam and the Persian culture. But, the efforts of some sages (particularly those saints who kept themselves away from the attractive life

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1. This book has been edited by Professor Valentin Zhukofeski, with the introduction by Qasim Ansari, Tahuri publication, III edition, 1373 A.H. 1994 A.D.) also *Safinat ul Aulya* by Prince Dara Shukuh, Agra edition, 1853, A.D. p.63.

2. *Fath Nama-i-Sind*, commonly known as Chachnama by Ali bin Hamid bin Abi Bakr al Kufi, edited by Umar bin Muhammad Daud Pota, published by Majlis-i-Makhtutati Farsiya (Persian manuscript society), Haydarabad, Deccan Printed at Latifi Press, Delhi, in 1358 A.H. (1939 A.D.).

of the courts of Turk Sultans) succeeded in preaching Islam among the common people with the help of Persian culture, which had penetrated deep in their minds and souls. Moreover the Persian saints had won their hearts by their love, affection and blessings. No doubt, the Ghaznavids were Turks, but they adopted the Persian language and culture, because of the richness of its literature and cultural heritage reflected in the literary works of scholars and other men of letters. This was the main reason behind the popularity of the Persian culture and even today, when centuries have rolled by it is still deep rooted in the minds of the people of this sub-continent.

The Ghaznavids, were followed by the Ghorids and other Turk dynasties, but none of them could establish a strong hold over their realm for a very long period; the advent of Timurids called Mughals in Indian history is a turning point. With the invasion of Babur a new era called the Mughal period is ushered in. This dynasty normally ruled for about three hundred twenty years and effectively for two centuries, under which Persian culture, developed as a whole in such a manner that it established its independent identity, which was first identified as the Persian-Islamic and later the Indo-Islamic culture.

At the time when the Ghorid dynasty was on the decline in Hindustan, Ala Uddin Muhammad Kharizm Shah (596-617 A.H./1199-1220 A.D.) had started his predatory activities in Khurasan which was followed by the outbreak of Mongol invasion in 616 A.H./1219 A.D., that caused great havoc in

Khurasan and Transoxiana.[1] Finding no peace there, many sages, saints, poets and historians, migrated to Hindustan where they were patronized by the rulers and their courtiers who were the connoisseurs of art, culture and literature. Among these immigrants was Khwaja Moin uddin Chishti, a great saint of his time and the founder of the Chishti order in Hindustan. His was such a dynamic personality that not only he proved instrumental in popularising the Islamic culture but his successors and disciples too rendered valuable service to Islamic teachings, mysticism and Persian literature. Among them were the great saints like Qutbuddin Bakhtyar Kaki, Farid Uddin Ganj-i-Shakar and the mystic poets like Amir Khusrau and Hasan Sajzi. Most of them lived during the Khiljid period and fulfilled their mission of preaching Islamic teachings and producing Persian literature).

As mentioned by Zia Uddin Barni, besides saints and Sages, many men of letters had also assembled in Delhi. Most of them had migrated from Khurasan. Among them are Qazi Muhi uddin Kashani, Qazi Shams uddin Kazeruni, Maulana Wajih uddin Razi, Maulana Shamsuddin Qummi and Maulana Iftekhar Uddin Razi.[2]

Besides the migration of saints and literary figures, the trade relations between Hindustan and Persia also contributed a lot to the expansion of Islamic culture and literature produced in Persian. These saints, sages, poets, and

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1. The compiler of *Tarikh-i-Farishta* , Kanpur, 1301 A.H., (Vol.II, p.118) writes: the court of Sultan rulers of Delhi had become the place of refuge for great Saiyids, princes, nobles, theologinas, and men of letters who had escaped from Khurasan and had assembled in Hind (i.e. Hindustan).

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi,* edited by Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Calcutta, 1862, A.D. pp. 175-423.

traders, living during the Sultanate period, in a way, prepared the ground for the Timurid rulers of Hindustan, who surpassed all the preceding dynasties so far as the revival and popularisation of the Persian culture was concerned. It reached its zenith during the reign of Akbar. At that time, both the rulers, Akbar and Shah Abbas I tried their best to establish cordial relations between the two countries (i.e. Hindustan and Persia) in every sphere of life. This will be discussed in detail in the following chapters to show the causes of the migration of many historians merchants, poets as well as administrators. Some of them came with their families and made this country their permanent abode. Even though, as we have noted avove relations between Hindustan and Persia go back to pre-historic times, our focus in this study is on the reign of Akbar in India and that of Shah Abbas I in Persia.

The Safavids ruled over Persia for about two and half centuries - from Shah Ismail (907 A.H./1501 A.D.) down to Sultan Shah Husain (1135 A.H./1722 A.D.). Historical records testify to the fact that about seven hundred fifty Persian poets, migrated from their homeland (i.e., Persia) to Hindustan. Besides, poets, artisans and craftsmen also came to this country and engaged themselves to promote their art; In Hindustan they played an important role in the field of culture and literature. The number of people, other than poets who came to Hindustan and associated directly either with the Mughal court or with nobles is given below:

118 Sages, scholars, men of letters and theologians, 22 physicians, 6 astronomers and astrologers, 9 scholars, profound in Arabic language and literature, 20 experts of accounts, 57 calligraphers, 24 musicians, (singers,

reciters, players, tune setters etc.), 47 saints and savants, 27 men of various arts and crafts, 18 dramatists (story tellers, reciters of Shah Nama of Ferdausi, epics of Nizami, Amir Khusrau and Jami; jesters, actors and the counsellors), 42 merchants, 48 travellers, 43 dignitaries who got some administrative job or military service with the rank of one thousand to seven thousand (foot soldiers and horsemen). 88 persons who were appointed to some high rank in the court of justice. 4 poets laureate, and 38 soldiers.[1]

Besides, during the reign of the Mughal emperor Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) Asad (the story teller), Hayati and Said (both the poets belonged to Gilan province, Persia) and Nayee Nayrizi (the lute player) were weighed against silver coins.

During the reign of Shahjahan (1627-1651 A.D.) Baqi of Nayin, Said of Gilan, Qudsi of Mashhad and Kalim of Hamadan (all poets) were awarded with silver coins equal to their physical weight.

Even at the time when the Mughal empire was on its decline, Muhammand Shah (1719-1748 A.D.) also weighed his physician Alavi of Shiraz against silver coins.

Here, only those noteworthy persons have been mentioned who, in some way or the other, belonged to the reign of Akbar. Among them 259 persons have been described with their particulars and their main field,[2] some of them will be discussed in coming pages.

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1. For further details see: *Karavan-i-Hind* (Karavan to India) by Ahmad Gulchin-i-Maani, Astana-i-Quds-i-Razavi, Mash-had (Iran), 1369 A.H.(1990 A.D.) 2 Vols. Vol.I, p.4-5.

2. Ibid, p.6.

Did the Muslim rulers and Hindu rajas receive them open heartedly ? Could the immigrants adjust themselves properly to the new environment? Why did these immigrants prefer this sub-continent to the Ottoman empire or Transoxiana; and, finally what was the direct or indirect impact of Persian culture on the life of the local people of this region. Here, we shall deal with such questions and try to seek some answers to them.

While taking into account the migration of the people who settle down at a particular place, one should divide their circumstances and conditions in the three following categories.

1. The conditions in which people are living at a particular place.
2. Prevalent conditions at the place where people want to settle down after migration.
3. Social condition and personal circumstances of an immigrant which either compel or encourage him to migrate from his or her homeland.

Under this situation, there starts a tussel of two contradictory forces- the pull factors and the push factors-come in conflict in the mind of the person who intends to migrate.

Pull factors belong to the place which attracts a person towards itself and lures him to migrate, Push factors are related to the environment in which a person lives. These circumstances are so unfavorable that they make life quite miserable.

Besides, the personal attitude of an individual towards life and his outlook on the society also play an important role. In some cases it has been seen that social environment for a particular class or for the common people are very

favourable but, it may not suit an individual or a group. This inclemency eggs on the individual or the group to improve their condition and change the social environment. For example, after the disintegration of the Sassanid empire and advent of Ilsam in Persia, there came about a revolutionary change in social and political set up in the whole Persian society. The state religion of the Sassanids was Zoroastarianism. Therefore, some priests associated with the court and being in dominant position, interpreted the law and authority in their own interest which resulted in social injustice and class discrimination. This attitude of the priestly class made the common men their bitter enemy. Under such circumstances, they had no other alternative, except to migrate. Most of them settled on the coastal area of Arabian sea, now called Gujrat, where they have always been considered a privileged class.

Now taking in view the above mentioned phenomena, we have to consider which push factors were working in Persia and what pull factors were attracting the people of every class and craft to come to this sub continent. To find the correct answer to such question we will have to make a survey of the cultural situation like the political conditions, obtaining in these two countries, so that we may descover the root cause of this migration towards this sub-continent.

Cultural condition of India during the Mughal Rule

Zahir uddin Muhammad Babur, son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, was the sixth descendant of Amir Timur Kurkan and the founder of the Mughal empire in Hindustan. When he captured this part of the sub continent, there was a revival of Indo-Islamic as well as Indo Persian cultural relations which had already been established during the Ghaznavid period (366-582 A.H./975-1186 A.D.).

Zahir Uddin Muhammad, commonly known as Babur Shah, was born on 6th of the month of Muharram 888 A.H. (15th Feb. 1483 A.D.) at Furghana. In 899 A.H. (1494 A.D.) when he was only twelve years old, he sat on his hereditary throne at Andjan, the capital of Farghana. Transoxiana was the cradle of culture and civilization at that time. Samargand, Bukhara and Farghana were the seats of learning, where scholars, under the patronage of the descendants of Timur, particularly by the support of Sultan Husain Mirza Bayeqra, were busy in learning and accomplishing their scholarly works.[1]

It was this cultural and literary environment in which Babur got the opportunity to develop his talents. He was a man of great literary taste. Besides, he was himself a renowned poet, ornate prose writer, literary critic and admirer of the masterpieces of fine arts. In Persian calligraphy he proved himself so dexterous that he produced a new style called *Khatt-i Baburi* (Baburian style of calligraphy.)[2]

As he was himself a creative artist and had developed his talents under the supervision of those Timurid kings of Persia (771 A.H. 911 A.H./1369-1505

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1. About him Abulfazl writes: His Majesty had an exalted place in writing prose and poetry, particularly in Turki. His Turki Diwan (poetical collections) is also full of elegance and other literary merits. He has expressed his ideas in novel and wonderful style. His Persian compositions are also attractive. See *Akbar Nama* Calcutta edition, 1877 A.D. p.118.

   In the same manner Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah writes :
   "In the art of music, poetry, composition and orthography he had no equal see: ***Tarikh-i-Farishta,*** Naval Kishor edition, vol.i, Lucknow, 1933, p.211.

2. Abdul Qadir Badauni writes : "Among other wonders and innovations of that deceased monarch was the invention of Khatt-i-Baburi (the style of calligraphy introduced by Babur), in which he wrote a copy of the Glorious Quran and sent it to Mecca. Besides, his poetical collection in Persian and Turki is well-known". See: *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* Calcutta edition, 1828 A.D, Vol.I, p.343.

A.D.) who were also great patron of Timurid culture, he also found favourable circumstances for the revival and popularisation of that Timurid culture that had become almost dead after the decline of Timurids in Persia.[1]

This should also be noted that Amir Timur Kurkan, spent most of his time in waging wars to satisfy his lust for power and propitate his craze for superiority, but in spite of that he also paid much attention to cultural activities. He persuaded many artists and men of learning to shift to Samargand and Bukhara and developed these two cities into centres of learning. Though, the motive working behind these activities was to glorify his name, yet, in a way, he had prepared a ground for the development of Persian culture in Transoxiana.[2]

The motive working behind these cultural and literary activities was to gain eternal fame. Besides, the great occurrences that took place in his time, the new information that he gained and the relations that he established with different Christian rulers of Europe, were such events which his contemporary historians-particularly Nizam Uddin Shahab Ghazani of Tabriz commonly known as Nizam Shahi, were bound to record as his achievements. These historians, chroniclers and keepers helped a lot in the development of the art of

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1. Abul Fazl, ***Akbar Nama***, p.119, Vol.I, Hindu Shah, Ibid, p.210.
2. *Zafar Nama-i-Shami*, p.22.

historiography, which forms a significant part of the culture and literature produced during that period.[1]

As mentioned earlier Timur's ambition was to gain everlasting name and fame, so he engaged several renowned historians to maintain records of his achievements. It was for this reason that his court historians produced several remarkable works such as :[2]

Zafar Nama by Sharaf Uddin Ali Yazdi, *Matla-i Sadain Wa Majma-i Bahrain* by Abdur Razzaq Samrqandi, *Zubdat ut Tawarikh* by Hafiz Abru, *Majma ut Tawarikh* by Fasih Khafi, *Tazkirat us Shoara* by Daulat Shah

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1. Nizam Shami and Sharf Uddin Yazdi both compiled the records of Timur's achievements under *Zafar Nama*. Nizam Shahi wrote the account of Timur, by his order upto the year 806 A.H./1403 A.D. while Sharafuddin took upon himself the continuation of the same work at Shiraz in 828 A.H./1424 A.D. by the order of Mirza Ibrahim Sultan, son of Shah Rukh. As Sharaf Uddin had also very delicate literary taste, therefore he wrote the history of Timur in an ornate style and interspersed it with his own poetical compositions, wherever he felt necessary. Sharaf Uddin's *Zafar Nama* is considered to be one of the masterpieces of Persian ornate prose produced during the ninth century and early tenth century A.H. (15th century A.D.). About Nizam Shah see: *Habib us Siyar* Vol. 3, pp.547-548, *Ganjina-i-Sukhan* by Zabih ullah Safa, Tehran 1370 A.H./1991 A.D. Vol.V, p.152.

   A literary History of Persia, by Edward G.Brown, Vol.III, p.361. For Sharaf Uddin Ali Yazdi, see: E.G.Brown, ibid., pp. 362 365. *Tazkirat ut Shoara* by Daulatshah Samaraqandi, pp.425,427. *Habib us Siyar* Vol.Iv, pp. 15-16, Matla us Sadain Vol.II, fascicule II, pp.675-676, ibid, Vol.II, fascioule I, p.303.

2. The victories of the Ottoman sultans in Europe on the one hand and dominance of Timur over Sultan Bayazid in the war of Ankara, on the other, were such events which horrified the European rulers. They felt it necessary to maintain close cultural relations with Timur and his successors. Iimmediately after the Victory of Timur over Bayazid, Henry IV, the king of England and Henry III, the ruler of Castile exchanged letters with Timur. At the same time the king of Spain sent his delegation to the court of Timur under Ruy Gonzalez di Clavijo. He was very much impressed by the grandeur of the court of Timur and the magnificence of the city of Samargand, which he recorded in his travel accounts. For further details see: *Zafar Nama* by Sharaf Uddin Ali Yazdi Vol.II, p.598, *Matala'-i-Sadain,* edited by Prof. Muhammad Shafi, in three volumes, printed at Lahore, 1365 A.H./1945 A.D. pp.290, 644, 684,687, 721, 834, 837, 868,871,1445, 1461, 1462,1466, 1467, 1468,1471, and 1491. *Zubdat ut Tawarikh* by Hafiz Abru, edited by Saiyid Kamal Haj Saiyid Javadi, Vol.II, pp.273, 460 and 464.

Samarqandi, *Rauzat ul Jannat* by Asfazari and *Tuzukat-i Timuri* by Amir Timur himself.

In the same manner the successors of Timur were also great admirers of art, culture and scientific studies. The names of some of those who patronised Persian culture and extended their genarosity to several scientists, historians, poets, miniaturist and literary figures were.

Shah Rukh (807-850/1404-1446 A.D.), Ulugh Beg (850-853/1446-1449 A.D.) Mirza Bay Sunqur (d.837 A.H./1443 A.D.) son of Shahrukh, Sultan Abu Said son of Muhammad son of Miran Shah son of Amir Timur (855-873 A.H./1451-1468 A.D.) and also Sultan Husain Mirza Bayeqra (875-911 A.H./1470-1505 A.D.) son of Mansur son of Bayeqra son of Umar Sheikh son of Amir Timur, the last king of the Timurid dynasty in Persia. In fact, their efforts made the Timurid period the golden age of the history of Persian art, culture and literature.[1]

The reign of Shahrukh, in the whole history of Persia is considered most glorious. In that period, miniaturists, poets and other men of letters were highly encouraged to produce masterpieces of their art and dexterity. It was for this reason that his darbar became the focus of attraction for artists and literary figures. His personal collection of books was counted as one of the most valuable libraries of Persia, in which he had preserved a number of valuable books related to Persian literature. One of the distinguished feature of the period of Shahrukh was that the city of Herat became an unrivaled and unparalleled centre of Persian paintings and minature works.

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1. He died at the age of 35. 14 years before the death of his father, the cause of which was the excessive use of alcoholic drinks. See: *Habib us Siyar* Vol. III, pp.622-623.

Mirza Baysunqur was the fifth son of Shahrukh. He paid special attention to learned men and creative artists. It was on account of this, that under his generous patronage his darbar, in the city of Herat, became the centre of poets, historiographers, men of letters, Persian calligraphers, miniaturists and book - cover designers. He was so fond of art and learning that about forty Persian calligraphers were always engaged in copying manuscripts under the supervision of Jafar-i-Tabrizi, who was the student of Abdullah son of Mir Ali, the renowned calligrapher of his time. The written books were given to gilders, illuminators and miniaturists for elaboration. The illustrated copies were handed over to dexterous book- binders, who adorned their covers with ornate Arabesque designs.[1] Afterwards the books were brought for evaluation.[2] Among the masterpieces of calligraphy and miniature paintings was the illustrated copy of *Shah Nama* of Firdausi, the renowned epic poet of Persia, which reached us after a lapse of many centuries and is known as *Shah Nama-iBaysunquri*, and is still considered the best piece, produced so far.[3]

Ulugh Beg was another son of Shahrukh, who was the ruler of the region commonly called Turan or Turkistan (Transoxiana) during his father's reign. In the year 824 A.H./1421 A.D., he established his observatory at Samarqand, called *Zij-i Ulugh Begi* or *Zij-i Jadid-i Sultani.* The (Sultan's new observatory). There he prepared astronomical tables with the help of Salah uddin Musavi Qazi

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1. *History of Iran* by Sir Johan Melkom, Bombay, 1323 A.H., Vol.I, p.487.

2. *Sayr-i-Tarikh-i-Naqqashi-i-Irani* (A historical survey of Persian paintings) by Lawrance Binson. Translated into Persian by Muhammad Iranmanish, Amir Kabir publication, Tehran, 1367 A.H. (1988 A.D.) p.146.

3. *Habib us Siyar* by Khand Mir Vol.III, p.622.

zada-i-Rumi, Maulana Ala'uddin Ali Qushchi, Ghayasuddin Jamshid Kashani and Muinuddin Kashani, the renowned astronomers of the period. He was killed by his son Abdul Latif in the year 853 A.H./1449 A.D. He was succeeded by Abu Said, the grandson of Miranshah, son of Timur who also engaged himself in scholarly pursuits and revived scientific and cultural activities. Finally in the last days of Timurid empire, Sultan Husain Mirza Bayeqra (85-911 A.H./1470-1505 A.D.) came to throne.[1]

During his reign, the city of Herat received unprecedented glamour and this can be said with certainty that the reign of Sultan Husain Bayeqra was the golden age in the history of this city, because at the time it had become the unparalleled centre of Islamic world in the realm of master craftmanship.

Sultan Husain Bayeqra himself was undoubtedly a poet and had scholarly genius. But, this goes also to the credit of his learned minister Amir Ali Shir Nawai (844-906 A.H./1440-1500 A.D.) who besides being a good politician was also well-versed in music, poetry and miniature painting. He gathered many scholars, poets and several master craftsmen at Herat and encouraged them to work under his supervision and in this way glorified the name of his master. He opened many libraries and established several seats of learning (schools, colleges and universities) for scholars at Herat. There, he provided them with such facilities, as no man of learning had received anywhere at that time. He footed the bill of about ten thousand students from his own purse.

Following the example of Amir Ali Shir Nawai, the other nobles at the court of Sultan Husain Bayeqra, also built such magnificent buildings which

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1. *Zij-i-Sultani-Kurkani* by Mirza Ulugh Beg, Paris edition, 1822, p.209.

were considered unparalleled models of the Timurid architecture and unique pieces of Islamic craftmanship.

It was under the liberal patronage of Sultan Husain Bayqara and the generous encouragement of his learned ministers that Herat became the seat of Persian scholarship. It was by their effort that there gathered the celebrated poet Mulla Nur uddin Jami (d.18th of the month of Muharram 898/Nov. 1492 A.D.), the moral fable writer and poet Kamaluddin Husain Wa'iz Kashifi (d.910 A.H./1504 A.D.), Daulat Shah Samargandi (842-900 A.H./1438-1494 A.D.), the[1] compiler of the biographies of Persian poets; the great historiographers Mir Khand (b.at Balkh in 838 A.H./1434 A.D.) and his grandson Khand Mir (lived at Herat in about 880 A.H./1475 A.D.), Behzad, the dexterous miniaturist and Sultan Ali Mashhadi, the excellent calligrapher. The[2] generous patronage of the king and affectionate supervision of the learned ministers gave such splendour to the city of Herat, that it seemed that there was a revival of the Sassanid[3] period, which has always been a model for all the rulers of Persia who lived during the Islamic period.

Mughals : The Descendants of Timur in Hindustan.

In the last days of the reign of Shah Sultan Husain Bayeqra, the political crises in Persia had reached its climax. The main cause, on the one hand was

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1. *Habib Us Siyar*, lithographed copy, Bombay, 1847-1857 A.D, Vol.III, fascicule III, p.341.

2. For further information about Mirkhand, See: Khand Mir, *Habibus Siyar*, khayyam publication, Tehran, 1330 A.H, Vol.IV, pp.12,13, 105 and 341 *Majalis un Nafais*, by Mir Nizam uddin Ali Shir Nawai, translated from Arabic into Persian by Hakim Shah Muhammad Qazvini, Tehran, p.270 and *Tarikh-i-Nazm Wa Nasr* (History of Persian poetry and prose) by Said Nafisi, Tehran, 1340 A.H/1961 A.D, p.239.

3. Khand Mir, Ibid.

the war of succession among the descendants of Timur and on the other, the emergence of the Uzbeks and other Tartary tribes, who had started their attacks over Persia after the death of Shahrukh, son of Timur. The internal disintegration and the attacks from outside caused the decline and finally the down-fall of Timurid dynasty, in the eastern part of the Islamic world with the death of Sultan Husain Bayeqra, which took place in 911 A.H./1506 A.D.

At the same time the movement of Shah Ismail, the great grandson of Sheikh Safi uddin of Ardbil, like smouldering fire, burst out which proved helpful in capturing power. Now, Shah Ismail stepped into the shoes of the Timurids in Persia and laid the foundation of his own dynasty called the Safavids.

The Timurid rule, though had lost power in Persia, it was not completely extinct. Because, at the same time Babur - a descendant of Timur from his paternal side and of Chingiz Khan Mongol from his maternal side - was making serious attempts to establish his sovereignty in Hindustan and succeeded in reaching his goal in the year 932 A.H./1526 A.D. Here, we shall only deal with the relations of Timurids of Hindustan, called Mughals, with the Safavids.

Babur, though was a Turk and the Chaghtay dialect of Turkish language was his mother tongue, Yet, he was very fond of Persian art, culture and literature. As he was a very good calligrapher of Kharizmi style of Nastaliq writing, he made some innovations in it and introduced another modified style

called Khatt-i-Baburi or Baburi style of Kharizmi Nastaliq.[1] He was also a great patron of learning. He invited many men of letters of Hindustan and created in this country though at a small level, the literary and artistic atmosphere, prevailing in Transoxiana.[2] His court attracted scholars like, Maulana Shihab Uddin Muammai, Mirza Ibrahim Qanuni, Sheikh Zainuddin Khafi, Sheikh Abdul Wajid Farighi, Sultan Muhammad Kusa, Sheikh Jamali, Mir Abul Baga, Maulana Yusufi, Nizam Uddin Khalifa and several others. These scholars of different branches of knowledge engaged themselves in their works and received generous awards from him.[3]

Babur, as mentioned above, was a Turk and lived most of the time in Transoxiana, the greater part of which is Turkish speaking. But, he was a great admirer and patron of Persian culture and literature. On the contrary, Shah Ismail Safavi, though established his dynasty in Persia, lived most of the time in Persian speaking area and as he had good literary taste, sometimes composed poetry in Persian. ; Yet, he spent his whole energy in establishing the rule of the Shiite sect in Persia and modified its tenets according to his own desire.

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1. Herman Ethe writes that, "Ghyas Uddin son of Humam Uddin Khand Mir was born at Herat in 880 A.H./1475 A.D. In 935 A.H./1528 A.D. he went to Agra at the invitation of Babur Shah.
   See : *Tarikh-i-Adabiyat-i-Farsi* (the history of Persian Literature) translated by Dr. Reza Zada Shafaq, Tehran, 1337 A.H/1958 A.D., P,282.

2. Sheikh Zain Uddin was the court historian of Babur, He translated the accounts of Babur from Chaghtai Turki into Persian during his reign. About this Badauni writes, "Among the other learned men of his reign, one was Sheikh Zainuddin Kahfi. He translated the accounts of Babur (*Waqiat-i-Baburi*) in eloquent style..... see *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.I, pp.471 and 477.

3. *Akbar Nama* by Abul Fazl Vol.I, p.119 and *Tarikh-i-Farishta* by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, Nawal Kishore edition, Vol.I, p.210.

Politically he gave stability to his country, distinctly marked its boundary lines, established internal peace to a great extent (by annihilating the followers of the four schools of the Muslims of Sunnite sect) restored that unity and strength that Persia once enjoyed during the Sassanid period, but, from cultural and sectarian point of view he did irreparable loss to the people of Persia and the whole Islamic world.

This approach of Shah Ismail as compared with that of Babur, the founder of the Timurid (Mughal) dynasty in Hindustan was both repulsive and attractive in some way or the other. The Safavids though removed the Timurid dynasty from the political scene of Persia and took their place yet they could not check the migration of those who belonged directly or indirectly to the Timurid dynasty. In view of the sectarian prejudice of Shah Ismail, they preferred to migrate to Hindustan, rather than be associated with the Safavids.[1]

Babur had hardly ruled Hindustan for four years when he sacrificed his life for the recovery of his son Humayun from illness. After his demise (937 A.H./1530 A.D.) his eldest son, Humayun came to the throne, whose contemporary ruler in Persia was Shah Tahmasb Safavi (930-984

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1. About his scholarship Abul Fazal writes; "In different branches of mathematics he was so profound that he had no equal in his time. He also paid his attention to poetry and looked at the poets favourably. As he was gifted with the poetic talent, which is the characteristic of a sound mind, he, therefore, composed poems, occasionally, being inspired by the spiritual and figurative ideas." See: *Akbar Nama,* Calcutta edition, 1877 A.D. Vol.I, p.368 (About poetical collection of Humayun, See: *Bazm-i-Timurya* by Sabah Uddin Abdur Rahman, printed at AzamGarh 1948, p.35). About Humayun Nizam Uddin Harvi writes: "He was unique in Astronomy, astrology and mathematics. See: *Tabagat-i-Akbari,* Calcutta edition. 1912 A.D., Vol.II, p.184. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni writes "He was the king of perfect internal and external qualities, unique, in Astronomy, astrology and other wonderful sciences; he was the patron of men of letters, admirer of poets, fond of poetry and also composed excellent poems, see: *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* Vol.I, p.467.

A.H./1523-1576). Humayun was himself a man of letters and very fond of art and culture. He wanted to continue cordial relations with Persia following in the footsteps of his father. But, his brother Kamran Mirza (b.919 A.H./1513 A.D.), who was the governor of Kabul, Qandhar and Ghazni provinces during the reign of his father occupied the Punjab province also and annexed it to his own territory and stood as a cumbersome barrier and a great hindrance between the rulers of Hindustan and Persia. It was for this reason that Humayun in the early days of his reign could not maintain relations with Persia.[1]

Humayun, being a victim to the intrigues of his brothers, i.e., Kamran (b.919 A.H./1513 A.D.) Mirza Askari (b.922 A.H./1516 A.D.) and Mirza Hindal (b.923 A.H./1517 A.D.) was defeeted by Sher Shah Suri, the Afghan ruler of Hindustan and was wandering about for refuge with a number of his loyal and faithful attendatns.[2]

Humayun, in view of the cordial relations that had been established by his father with Shah Ismail Safavi, proceeded to Persia via Sistan province of Persia on the advice of his Shia minister Bairam Khan in 947 A.H./1540 A.D. and on the Ist of Shawwal 950 A.H. (28th Dec.1543) wrote a letter to Shah Tahmasb and asked him for refuge in his country. In the letter, writing about his miserable condition, he also used those verses of Masud-i-Sad-i-Salman with a slight amendment that he had composed while addressing his patron;[3] they are as follows:

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1. Badauni, Ibid, p.444 and *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Vol.I, p.233.

2. Ibid, p.354.

3. *Kulliyat-i-Salman* (poetical collection of Salman, the poet). Ms.copy of Kitab Khana-i-Majlis, Tehran, No.2129, fol. 225. See also: *Majmua-i-Magalat-i-Hadi Hasan* (a collection of the articles of Hadi Hasan), p.207.

Sovereign for a long time long ago, the phoenix of my exalted magnanimity, had kept its nest on the peak of the Caucasus of good fortune.[1]

But, now the ignoble time, so hypocritical, has made me content, like a parrot, with millet.

The star of my fortune is the Leo, which for a long time had turned its back to me. Now, it gazes at me, with the looks of enemity.

Presently, this is my request to you that, treat me as Ali had treated Salman, in the plain of Arzan.[2]

The response of Shah Tahmasb Safavi to the request was so friendly that it was referred to later when letters were exchanged between Shah Abdas I and the Mughal emperor Akbar. In this correspondence, a keen desire was shown from both sides to continue good relation between the two countries, at the same level as they had been between the two former rulers.

From the accounts, recorded by the chroniclers, appointed at the Mughal court, one can derive the conclusion that the Mughal rule (or the rule of Timurids) had come to an end with the defeat of Humayun inflicted by Sher Shah Suri. But, the warm reception accorded to Humayun at the Persian court, his stay for fourteen years at Isfahan and the strong support given by Shah Tahmasb to him to regain his lost throne are such great events that they are still considered as landmarks in the cultural History of Hindustan and Persia.[3]

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1. Salman was originally Persian, embraced Islam during the time of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and was his advisor in war tactics.

2. Dasht-i-Arzan is the name of the region which is in Fars province, Persia. Once it was the den of lions. It is also birth place of Salman, the poet. According to one of the traditions Ali, the caliph Saved Salman, one of the companions of prophet Muhammand (peace be upon him), from the clutches of a lion in the plain of Arzan. See: *Wagiat-i-Darul Hukumat-i-Delhi*, Vol. I, p.286. also *Shahan-i-Shaer* (King of Poets) by Abul Qasim Halat, Ilmi publication, Tehran, 1346 A.H. (1967 A.D.) p.279.

3. *Zindigani-i-Shah Abbas-i-Awwal* (life of Shah Abbas I) VOL. I and II, p.277.

When Shah Tahmasb Safavi received the letter of Humayun, he, being a poet, composed the following lines[1] extempore :

Hud Hudi and furu taj-i Karamat bar sarash

Nama-i Iqbal-o Daulat basta bar bal-o Parkash.

(The hoopoe has come down with the miraculous crown at its head with the letter of good fortune fastened to its wing).

And in the letter that he wrote to Humayun also mentioned this verse:

Humaye auj-i Saadat be dam-i ma oftad

Gar tura quzari bar Maqam-i ma oftad

(If you happen to come to this side, (I would feel that Humayun (the Phoenix) flying high on the peak of good fortune has come to my catch).[2]

Shah Tahmasb, after receiving the letter of Humayun, immediately issued a mandate to Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sistan province and instructed him to provide all the possible facilities to Humayun and his entourage.[3]

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1. The historians, who have written the biographies of poets have admitted that Shah Tahmasb was a good poet and uttered verses extempor-aneaously, See *Haft Iqlim* by Amin Ahmad Razi edited by Javad fazel (3 vols), Ilmi Publication, Tehran, by Taqiuddin Mohammad Auhadi Bilyani, Mss Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna, No. 3435, 1955 A.D., Vol.III, p.247. *Arafat ul Ashiqin* fol. 502,.

2. This letter is preserved in Kitab Khana-i-Majlis (The library of Iranian parliament). MSS.No. 606 for further detail See: *Shah Tahmasb Safavi* in Majmua-i-Asnad-o-Mukatibat-i-Tarikhi (the collection of historical documents), edited by Dr. Abdul Husain-i-Nawai, Arghawan publication, Tehran, 1368 A.H. (1989 A.D.), p.49, also *Tarikh-i-Farishta* Vol.I, p.236.

3. Regarding the reception of Humayun by the governor of Sistan, See: *Tazkira-i-Humaun o Akbar*, edited by Muhammad Hedayat Husain, Asiatic Society, Calcutta edition, 1360 A.H./1941 A.D. pp.8 and 9, also *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Vol.I, p.236.

Humayun, while continuing his journey, first paid his visit to the shrine of Ahmad Jam and via Turbat-i-jam entered the sacred city of Mashhad in the month of Muharram 951 A.H. (March 1544 A.D.) and there paid homage to the holy shrine of Imam Musa Reza, the 8th Imam of the Muslims of Shiite sect.[1] There he was received warmly by Muhammad Khan Sharafuddin, the governor of Khurasan, as he had already been instructed by Shah Tahmasb. Finally, in the month of Jamadi ul Awwal 951 A.H. (July 1544 A.D.) he met Shah Tahmasb at Qidar nabi, the summer quarters, situated between Abdar and Sultanya. Shah Tahmasb accorded him warm reception, quite appropriate to a monarch.[2]

Though Humayun, was received warmly, yet his fourteen years stay was not free from some bitter experiences. Sometimes he was humiliated by the king, but he tolerated it patiently. One of the reasons of Shah Tahmasbs harsh attitude towards Humayun was the sectarian differences between the two. The Safavid rulers were strictly followers of the Shiite sect of Islam and showed much prejudice regarding this sect, which resulted in irreparabble loss to Persia in religious and cultural matters. The Muhgals or the Timurid rulers of Hindustan were quite liberal in their religious view and sectarian matters. While in Persia the people felt a repulsion for the Safvid ruler, they found themselves attracted to the Mughals in Hindustan for their liberal and tolerant attitude with the result that this caused the migration of a number of broad-minded people.

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1. Regarding the reception of Humayun by the governor of Khurasan, See: *Majmua-i-Ansad-o-Mukatibat-i-Tarikhi,* Nawaii, pp.53-62 and *Tazkira-i-Humaun Wa Akbar* **pp. 12 to 31.**

2. *Tarikh-i-Qutbi* by Khur Shah Bin Qubad Al Husaini, edited by Dr. Mujahid Husain Zaidi, Jamia MIllia Islamia, First Edition, Delhi, 1965 A.D., pp.635 and 636.

When Humayun visited Shah Tahmasb, he was at the first instance asked by the king of Persia to put on Qazilbashid head gear, which was worn by Shia Muslims. Humayun accepted willingly and put it on his head, with the comment that it was a matter of great pride for him. Humayun, though put on Qazilbashid headgear and felt honour in it, yet he was not willing to adopt the shiite sect.

This alone could not satisfy Shah Tahmasb On another occasion, he told in no unambiguous terms that if Humayun was willing to embrace the Shiite sect, he would certainly get help from him. This attitude of Shah Tahmasb embittered the mind of Humayun, and this change was felt by Sultanam Begam, the sister of Humayun, Qazi-i-Jahan and Hakim Nuruddin.[1]

With a view to removing this bitterness, appeasing the mind of Shah Tahmasb and normalising relations betweeen the two, a meeting was held, at which in the presence of Shah Tahmasb, some verses in praise of Ali, the caliph, were recited, and they were attributed to Humayun. These verses are:

(I am an earnest devotee of the descendants of Ali. I always have with me the sweet memories, regarding Ali. As the secret of the succession (of prophet Muhammed) was revealed by the personality of Ali, therefore I always recite "Nad-i-Ali").[2]

After this compromise at secterian level, Humayun was able to come closer to the priests, poets, calligraphers and miniaturists, who had assembled in

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1. Amir Mahmud, *Tarikh-i-Amir Mahmud,*, G.U., or 1406, Arberry, no.932.

2. Nad-i-Ali is a small prayer, the meanings of which are: Recite the name of Ali, because he is the revealer of wonders. You will find him your helper when you are in difficulties. He is remover of every grief and sorrow Oh Ali I testify that you are the successor of prophet Muhammad.

Isfahan, then the capital of Persia. These memorable events of his stay in Persia, in fact proved the substructure of the cultural relations, which were later furthered between Persia and Hindustan. Shah Tahmasb, was a poet and an art designer, he had gathered at his court many dexterous artists (calligraphers, miniaturists, gilders, book-cover designers and picture painters), who were at that time busy in compiling an illustrated copy of the ***Khamsa-i-Nizami.***[1]

This was a good opportunity for Humayun to see closely the talented artists engaged in their works. Several miniature paintings and pieces of calligraphy came to his sight. At that time he came across Mir Saiyid Ali, the poet and Abdul Samad, the calligrapher. He promised them to invite to his court and stand by his words if and when he regained his lost throne. When these two persons, with several others, came to the Mughal court, Humayun made them their close companion. He entitled Abdul Samed as *Shirin Qalam* (Sweet penman) and bestowed the title of *Nadir ul mulk* (a rare personality in the country) on Mir Saiyid Ali who composed poems under the penname Judaii (separation).[2]

At last, tables were turned in favour of Humayun in 961 A.H./1544 A.D. and he to regained his lost throne. Shah Tahmsab appointed prince Sultan

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1. *Khamsa-i-Nezami* is a collection of five epics composed by Nizami of Ganja. The titles of these epics are
   1) *Makhzan ul Asrar* (the treasure house of Divine secrets)
   2) *Khusrau-o-Shirin*, 3) *Laili-o-Majnun*, 4) *Haft Paikar* (Seven portraits) and (5) Sharafnama.

2. For further detail See: *Tazkira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar*, (the accounts of Akbar and Humayun), pp.65-69.

Mirza,[1] as the chief of twelve thousands soldiers, belonging to different Qazil-bashid clans and gave their command to Abul Fath Khan Qajar who was one of the eminent nobles and Ataliq (the tutor guardian) of Sultan Mirza. Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sistan province and Shah Quli Afshar, the governor of Kirman province were his military advisors, who commanded the unit of three hundred royal armoury guards. Humayun was also accompanied by the priest Kachal Shah Virdi,[2] as his personal advisor. These preparations were aimed at for Humayun to crush down his enemies and regain his lost realm.

Besides, many artists, miniaturists and men of letters also accompanised Humayun Abul Fazl writes about them:

"When the crescent of world ruling exalted banner of Jannat Ashyani (nestled in paradise) gave a new lustre to Hindustan, a number of Irani and Turani (Scholars) also joined the (primary) school of that master who was well-acquainted with the secrets of the universe and the human beings. He gave a new splendour to the assembly of Sagacity.[3]

It is worth mentioning here that when Humayun was coming back to Hindustan he ordered the army to march towards Khurasan province, so that before going on the other side of the territory of Persia, he could pay his homage

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1. He was younger than princes Sultan Muhammad and Ismail Mirza, while all other princes were younger.

2. Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, Vol.I, p.99.

3. *Akbar Nama*, Vol.I p.340. Besides, Bayazid Bayat also has mentioned the names of those persons who had accompanied Humayun when he was marching towards Hindustan. See: *Tazkira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar*, pp.4-12.

to Musa Reza, the eighth Imam of the Muslims of shiite faith.[1] Then he proceeded to the shrine of Sheikh Ahmad Jam Zhinda Pil and there he prayed to God, to give him so much strength and courage, that, by the grace of the holy saint, that he could regain his lost kingdom.[2]

Humayun, after capturing the region of Qandhar,Garmsir, Bangash, Badakhs and Kabul, reached Delhi, the capital seat of the empire, in the holy month of Ramazan 962 A.H. (July 1554 A.D.). There he declared himself the ruler of Hindustan by striking coin and asking the priest to recite khutba in his name. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, in the account of Humayun, mentions that no king had preceded him who regained his kingdom after being defeated in the battle field.[3]

The emperor Humayun after regaining his lost empire could not rule more than one year and died[4] on 11th of the month of Rabi ul Awwal 963 A.H./25th Jan. 1556 A.D.) when he was coming down at the time of evening prayer from the terrace of his library (at old fort, Delhi). His foot slipped at the step of the stair way and he fell headlong. Though, he could devote himself fully to solve

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1. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* Vol.I, p.445.

2. In the enclosure of the grave of Sheikh Jam, the following quatrain is carved on a marble slab, which indicates that Humayun had been to the shrine: Oh (your blessing) accept the excuses of every one (and pardon him). It is revealed upon you what is hidden in the heart of any person. The door of your threshold is the destination of everybody Your miraculous favour is helper of every one.
Wanderer in the boundless desert Muhammad Humayun *Padshah-i-Hindustan* (the king of Hindustan), 14th of the month of Shawwal 951 A.H. (30th Dec. 1544.)

3. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* Vol.I, p.462.

4. All the historians agree that he died in 963 A.H. But the chronogram written by Kahi, has 961 A.H. as the year of his death. Because the numerical value of the hemistich (Humayun, the king fell down from the roof) is 961. See: *Shahan-i-Shaer,* by Abul Qasim halat, published by Ilmi publication, 1366 A.H./1987 A.D. p.284.

the administrative problems of the country that he had regained recently, yet as he was very fond of art, literature and science and patronized the scholars of various subjects of his liking, many scientists, artists and men of letters from distant parts of the world were attracted to his court. Badauni mentions his devotion to learning in the following lines.

"Some of the artists, who had no equal in that age and had met his imperial Majesty in Iraq and Khurasan were honoured with countless benefits. They found access to him in the month of Shawwal 959 A.H. (Sept. 1551 A.D.) and exalted their heads by obtaining his favour in different ways.[1]

Among the prominent poets, historians, men of letters and other scholars who were associated with the court of Humayun and enjoyed royal favour were: Sheikh Zain uddin Khafi (d.940 A.H./1533 A.D.) Sheikh Abul Wajid Farighi of [2] Herat city (d. 940 A.H./1533 A.D.), Ghayasuddin Khand Mir[3] (d.942 A.H./1535 A.D.), Shah Tahir Deccani[4] (d.952 A.H./1545 A.D.) Maulana

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1. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.1, p.343.

2. Ibid, PP.471-477: ALIlami, *Akbar Nama*, Vol.I, P.119; Hindu Shah, *Tarikh-i Farishta*, Vol.I, P.210.

3. Khand Mir was one of those few historians who during the Timurid period in Persia served Sultan Husain Mirza Bayeqra. He came to Agra, on the invitation of Babur and after his death joined the court of Humayun. In his life time he left a will in which he had desired that he should be buried in the compound of the holy shrine of Hazrat Nizam Uddin known as Aulya. He was buried by the side of the grave of Amir Khusrau. See: *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Vol.I, p.215.

4. Shah Tahir Deccani belonged to a noble family of Persia. In the beginning he was one of the counsellors of Humayun. But, on account of the sectarian difference that he had with the other nobles of the court, he went to Ahmad Nagar and joined the service of Burhan Nizam Shah and was appointed by him to the position of *Jumlatul Mulk* (the prime minister) He influenced the king so much that he adopted the shiite sect and worked for its propagation. Shah Tahir was the first person who introduced shiism in the Deccan and made it state religion. He was also a good poet: but being much inclined to Shiism, he usually composed verses in praise of the holy family of the prophet Muhammad. See: *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.I, pp.472-482.

Nadir Samarqandi (d.966 A.H./1558 A.D.) Jonoubi Badakhshi Maulana Muhammad Ibn-i-Ali Samarqandi, Maulana Ilyas Ardbili[1] and Maulana Qasim-i-Kahi. Besides them there were many other minor poets and men of letter.

After the death of Humayun, most of the poets and scholars associated with his court, joined the court of his son, Jalal Uddin Muhammad Akbar. He too, like his father showed his favour to them and graced them with his generosity and benevolence.

Jalal Uddin Muhammad Akbar (963-1014 A.H./1556-1605 A.D.)

Akbar was born on the 5th of Rajab 949 A.H./15th Oct. 1542 A.D. at Amar kot in the province of Sindh.[2] His mother Hamida Begum was the Persian wife of Humayun,[3] who was one of the descendants of the great saint Sheikh Ahmad Jam, commonly known as Zhinda pil (an uncontrollable elephant).

After the death of his father, he sat on the throne on Friday, the 2nd of Rabi ul Awwal in 963 A.H./14th Feb.1556 A.D.) with the title Abul Fath Jalal

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1. About him Abul Fazl writes: Maulana Ilyas of Ardbil city went to Kabul, there he got the honour of meeting His Majesty, who was highly pleased to see that dear one. They discussed the book, *Durrat ut Taj* (the pearl of the crown). See: *Akbar Nama,* Vol.I, p.221.

2. Humyaun married Hamida Begum in Sindh province in those chaotic days when he was moving towards Persia, after being defeated by Sher Shah Suri. This marriage took place in the month of Rajab 947 A.H./Nov. 1540 A.D. See: *Tabagat-i-Akbari,* Vol.II, pp.55-126.

3. Hamida Banu, entitled Maryam Makani after her death was the daughter of Khaja Ali Akbar Bijli Hariri Ahmadi Jami. She died at Agra on 5th of the month of Rabi Us Sani 1013 A.H. 28th August 1603 A.D.) at the age of eighty. See: *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi,* by Mirza Muhammad bin Rustam, entitled Mutamid Khan, edited by Imtiaz Ali Arshi, Rampur, 1960, A.D. p.7.

Uddin Muhammad. He ruled prosperously for fifty one lunar years and was contemporary for about twenty one years with three Persian rulers, Shah Ismail II (984-985 A.H./1576-1577 A.D.) Muhammad Khuda Banda (985-996 A.H./1577-1587 A.D.) and Shah Abbas I (996-1038 A.H./1587-1628 A.D.).

The fifty one year long reign of Akbar not only economically and politically, but from scientific, artistic, literary and cultural point of view was also the brightest period in the history of Hindustan. He laid great stress on the development of culture in general and patronized Persian culture in particular. He, on the one hand revived that culture which had deteriorated in the wake of the decline of the Timurids in Persia (to which Babur and his son Humayun also paid much attention to maintain) and on the other hand, brought back that culture which prevailed in Persia during the Sassanid period. The etiquettes of entering the Mughal court, attending its function, paying respect to the emperor, receiving rewards from him and the celebration of festivals, were the same which were observed at the royal courts of the kings of Sassanid dynasty.[1] He was so much influenced by the Sassanid culture that he replaced the Islamic lunar calender with the Solar[2] calender (that was commonly used in that period in Persia) ordered that Persian festivals (celebrated after every three months, at

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1. For detailed information see: *Tarikh-i-Ijtemai-i-Iran* (social history of Iran) by Murtaza Ravandi, Amir Kabir Publication institute, Tehran, 1354A>H. (1975 A.D.) Vol.I, p.646.

2. The solar Persian calender, introduced by Akbar was again changed by his great grandson, Aurangzeb. He ordered that the lunar Islamic calender be continued. But the solar Persian calender was used in Hyderabad state till 1948 when this state was merged in Indian territory.

the beginning of every season) should be celebrated throughout his empire[1] which continued during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

Distinctive features of Akbar period

One of the reasons of cultural expansion and literary activities during the reign of Akbar was the political stability in his empire. As, has been mentioned earlier the political conditions in both the countries were quite contrary to each-other's. At that time Persia was passing through internal as well as external political crises and Shah Abbas I had to meet both the challenges simultaneously whereas in Hindustan things were quite favourable and the country and the people were enjoying political stability to a great extent.

In Persia, most of the poets and men of letters, being charged either as the followers of Sunni sect or Nuqtavi were kept under strict surveillance. But, in Hindustan, (as there has always been an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence and people of every caste, creed, sect, religion and race can live together) during the reign of Akbar from Kashmir down to the borders of the Deccan (South India) all the people, speaking different languages, belonging to various cultures and religions, had come under one banner. This unity in diversity was consequent upon the correct approach of Akbar to the political affairs of this country. It was for this reason that the poets and other literary figures got full opportunity to express their ideas, that resulted in the development of cultural and literary activities more than ever.

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1. *Akbar Nama*, Vol.II, p.13. For Jahangir and Shah Jahan Period, See: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Nawal Kishore Publication, Lucknow, P.341 and *Badshah Nama* by Abdul Hamid Lahori, edited by Maulavi Kabir ud din Ahmad and Maulavi Abdul Rahim, Calcutta, 1868 A.D, p.320.

Akbar due to the chaotic conditions during the days of his childhood could not be properly schooled and remained unlettered. But in spite of that when he came to the throne, after maintaining internal peace and security by suppressing his enemies, he paid much attention to reviving art, culture and literature. The result was that many cities in his realm became centres of learning, where several Persian poets, prose writers, historians, musicians, miniaturists and theologians engaged themselves in developing art, culture and literature. That was the time, when Agra, the capital of his empire, offered much more glamour than that of the courts of Safavids at Qazvin and later Isfahan. The facts mentioned above invite our attention to the factors that made Akbar a successful monarch.

The main reason of Akbar's success, first as a ruler and then as a patron of art, culture and literature was that he was lucky enough to be shielded by his father's loyal and faithful nobles, particularly by Bairam Khan,[1] who played an important role in giving political stability to the country which Akbar ruled. He was also the main figure who inculcated in Akbar the instinct to appreciate art, and admire literature.

He was the son of Saif Ali Khan (and the father of Abdul Rahim, entitled Khan-i-Khanan (the chief of the nobles), and most renowned noble at the court of Akbar). He was born at Ghazna, the region, which had been under the

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1. He was very conservative in his sectarian thoughts and strict follower of the shiite sect, as is proved by one of his verses, that he composed in praise of Ali (the caliph) son of Abu Talib:
(May curse be upon the king, who is not the servant of Ali even if he has raised his head upto the heaven alongwith his head gear) See; *Rawabit-i-Adabi-i-Iran-O-Hind* (Literary relations between Iran and India by : Ali Akbar Shahabi Khunisani, Tehran Publications, 1316 A.H./1937 A.D, pp.75.

gubernatorial assignment of his father who had been appointed by Babur Shah, the king of Timurid dynasty. When his father died, he was quite young and for this reason was transferred to Balkh, where he served, on behalf of Babur, under Humayun. After Babur's death he became one of the favourite companions of Humayun.

Humayun, after being defeated by Sher Shah Suri, was wandering in Sindh province for asylum. In those days of adversity when even his kith and kin had left him in the lurch, Bairam Khan was with him. He advised Humayun to go to Persia and seek help from Shah Tehmsab Safavi. On his return, with Humayun from Isfahan to Hindustan, when he captured the region of Kabul, he received the title "Khan" from Shah Tehmasb. After the death of Humayun when Akbar sat on the throne of Hindustan, the country was passing through acute political crises. At that time when everything was going topsy-turvy, Bairam Khan stood with him like a rock. Being an experienced commander, he successfully suppressed every rebellious chief and very soon was able to maintain peace and social justice in the country, thus preparing a favorable ground for the development of cultural activities. It was by his effort that within a span of four years, when Akbar was only eighteen years old, internal peace and security was fully maintained.

Bairam Khan, besides being a good administrator and a successful commandar was also gifted with poetic talents. He composed verses fluently in Persian and Turkish. Humayun was a great admirer of his diction and the style in which he expressed his novel ideas. It was on account of this that he became a very close companion of Humayun. Sometimes, they exchanged their views in poetic language and metre.

Humayun, once composed the following quatrain and sent it to Bairam Khan.

Aye Anki Anis-i-Khatir-mahzuni

Chun tab-i-latife-i-khishtan mauzuni

Biyad-i-tu man neyam zamani ghafil

Aya tu beyad-i-man-i-mahzun chuni?

(You are the (only) person who is companion of my dejected heart, you are well balanced like your delicate disposition.

Even a single moment does not pass, when I am not thinking about you.

How are you ? Do you also think about me, the dejected one?) Bairam Khan gave extempore reply to these lines and sent the following quatrain to him.

Aye anki bezat Saya-i-bichuni

As har chi tura wasf kunam afzuni

chunmidani ki bi tu chun miguzarad

chun mi pursi ki dar firagam chuni?[1]

O: you are such a person, who is the shadow of God; whatever I say in your praise, you are more than that, You now very well how I spent my days being away from you, and then you ask me, how I am, being away from you).

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1. Shahabi, Ibid, pp. 74 and 75. For further information regarding Bairam Khan and his relations with Humayun, See: *Shahan-i-Shaer*, pp. 278-284.
Such were the intimate relations between Humayun and Bairam Khan. Being a close companion of Humayun, he felt his moral duty to look after Akbar as an orphan child of his deceased friend therefore, he took him under his guardianship. Akbar, too paid him great regard and always addressed him as *"Khan Baba"*. (my respected father).

See: *Tarikh-i-Akbari* Knownas Tarikh-i-Qandhari, by Haji Muhammad Arif Qandhari, edited by Haji Muin uddin and Dr. Azhar ALi Dihlavi, Reza Library Rampur, 1962 A D, pp.58-59.

But, the Turani group of the courtiers, (formed by the Muslims of the Sunnite sect) did not like that a noble, belonging to the Iranian group (consisting of mostly the nobles of shiite sect) should dominate the mind of the king. Therefore, they started intrigues against him. The result was that they created bad blood between the two. Bairam Khan, finding his life in danger, thought it wise that he should withdraw himself from the court activities. This he pointed out in a letter that he wrote to Akbar.

> "According to the desire of the opponents and as they expressed to that lord of beneficence, the long services rendered by me to that exalted dynasty have been ignored (By your majesty) accusing me of being ungrateful (to my master). The enemies have pronounced the judgment that shedding blood of a heretic is permissible. I am keeping myself away from this situation so that I might save my life. I have decided to pay my homage to the holy shrine of Mecca, in order that I may be personally present there and, as my opponents have designed to kill me therefore, I do not think it wise to pay visit to your Majesty.
>
> It is known to everybody that in my Turkish clan, no one has been disloyal (to his master). In this situation I have decided to move towards Mashhad. After the circumam bulation of the tomb of the holy Imam, I will pay my visit to the threshold of Najaf-i-Ashraf (the tomb of Ali, the caliph) and the exalted karbala (the burial place of Imam Husain). After making prayers for your long life and perpetuation of your empire, I shall go to Mecca.

This is my humble request that if you take me in the category of ungrateful ones and consider that my killing is incumbent, appoint some insignificant person by giving him this order that he should cut the head of Bairam and put it on the point of a long spear, so that this may give lesson to other ill wishers. I shall feel honoured if this request be accepted. Otherwise, you appoint some other person as the commander of the army, other than that Kharjite (dissenter) who has been looked after by the ungrateful persons and has been the cause of the expulsion of this devoted servant.[1]

Akbar wrote the following letter to Bairam Khan :

"Khan Babam (my dear father)! with gracious salutation should read and know through this message couched in compassion that some time before (now) I alighted with glory and grandeur at Delhi, the capital seat of that province to look into certain matters, when I heard that you were proceeding towards me, to pay your gratitude. I sent Tarsoun Beg to meet you (with this verbal message that) as there is still resentment in my mind, regarding your case and the feelings of my gentle heart do not suggest that you to come to attend on me, therefore (it is advisable) at present you stay in your own place and manage your own affairs. If need be, you come to Agra, when I alight there with pomp and glory. You move further ahead to proceed towards Gowalior and in the vicinity

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1. *Waqeat-i-dar ul Hukumat-i-Delhi* (Accounts of Delhi, the capital seat of the empire), by Bashir Uddin Ahmad, Urdu Academi, third edition, Delhi, 1995 A.D., vol.I, foot note of p.307.

> of that region and come to me whenever I send for you. For the consolation of heart, I had written that resentment can come between father and son, but there is no possibility of hatred. You are my father, this is the relation which is in consideration. In spite of resentment, vexation, improper conduct and misbehavior, I have great regard for you and I look upon you with affection and favour. Still as usual I call you Khan Babam. I consider it wise and proper that our meeting should be postponed for the time being. As you have sent your petition note, and have stated that you are going to pay visit to the holy shrines, you should proceed in that direction with full determination. Send some person, so that the cash amount be handed over to him which you have left at Sarhind and Lahore with the vow that you would offer it at the holy shrines".[1]

As long as relations were cordial between Akbar and Bairam Khan, things went in favour of the monarch. Bairam Khan's guardianship played an important role in the development of Akbar's intellectual faculties which contributed a lot to the expansion of cultural activities. He appointed Mir Abdul Latif Qazvini and his son Mir Ghayas Uddin Ali, entitled Naqib Khan, as his tutor and teacher, who were highly renowned persons of their time. After his death, Akbar even continued his traditions. He arranged meetings of poets, theologians and men of letters, who assembled at *Ibadat Khana* (prayer hall) in

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1. *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, known as *Tarikh-i-Qandhari* pp. 58-59.

the evening of every Thursday.[1] There Akbar took part in literary discussions and religious discourses. Ultimately there came a time when he could judge the merits and demerits of literary pieces[2] and sometimes dictated Persian translations to scribes of Sanskrit texts which were explained to him by the scholars of that language.

Bairam Khan, being the most renowned noble of Akbar, had his own court too, in which he had gathered together many learned men, mostly poets, and had appointed them to high positions. As he was himself a poet, he arranged and attended their meetings, in which poets took part in literary discussions and poetic competitions. He suggested to Naziri Nishaburi to compose an epic entitled *Shah Name-i-Humayuni,* parallel to the *Shah Nama-i Firdusi.* He versified some events, including the defeat of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Bairam Khan checked the narrations, which were versified by Naziri and passed his judgment as a literary critic. Bairam Khan admired Naziri's epic so much that one night he was so much inspired that he composed about four hundred

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1. In the *Ibadat Khana* seats were reserved for persons of every category. The nobles had their seats in the Eastern side, the Saiyids (descendants of prophet Muhammad) sat in the Western side, the Southern side was reserved for learned men and the saints were given the room in the Northern direction. Badauni, who also attended the meetings, writes that, the king used to come in that assembly and sat, turn by turn in the rows of the persons who attended the meeting. He discussed with them and enquired about several subjects. Perfumes were used there and money was given in abundance to the deserving persons, according to the merit of every one, through those who were close to king. His majesty, personally distributed among scholars (the epics of the book) *Fath Gujrat,* compiled by Itemad khan Gujrati, which were sent to be kept in the flourishing royal treasure house.

2. Abul Fazl writes, "The inspiration receiving aptitude of His Majesty is highly suitable for composing (verses) in Hindi and Farsi (Persian(. He distinctly apprehends the minutest points of poetic subtlety". See: *Akbar Name,* Vol I, p 271.

   Jhangir writes, He delived so deep into the subtleties of prose and poetry, that it was not possible to go beyond that. See: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* edited by Mirza Muhammad Hadi, Naval Kishore, Lucknow, p.15.

verses and recited them to him. Bairam Khan highly appreciated them and awarded him beyond his expectation.

Akbar had a refined taste in poetry and pronounced such a balanced judgment as a critic that even the experts of this art accepted him as a genius who picked up the true spirit of any poetic composition. Once some person recited the following verse of Baba Fughani, the poet:

Masiha Yar o Khizrash ham rekab o ham enan Isa

Fughani! aftab-i-man barin e'zaz mi 'ayad.

(Christ is friend and fellow rider, while Khizr is his companion. Oh! Fughani, my sun (i.e. the dear one) is coming with this retinue).

Akbar made correction in the second line and read it as:

Fughani! Shah Sawar-i-man barin e'zaz mi 'ayad.

(Oh! Fughani my horseman comes with this retinue).[1]

The royal patronage which poetry received from and the encouragement given to poets by the nobles, associated with the royal court caused to attract several poets, living far and near, when they heard how benevolently the masters of this art were treated by the king and his courtiers. As the poetic taste of the king was so highly developed and he was so much fastidious that the poets first joined the court of some noble and when he felt that the compositions of the poet was upto the mark, he was accorded access to the imperial court. Emulating the king, every noble formed a literary circle which consisted of some poets who could nourish their inborn talents. Among those nobles were Bairam Khan,

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1. *Sherul Ajam* by Shibli Numani, translated by Muhammad Taqi Fakhr Gilami, Rushdia Publication, Tehran, 1334 A.H,/1955 A.D., Vol. III, p.5.

Hakim Abul Fath Gilani, Sheikh Abul Fazl and Faizi, as they were themselves creative writers and were considered pioneers of Indo-Persian literature. Among the Timurid rulers of Hindustan, Akbar was the first king who created the office of poet-laureate at his court. Ghazali Mashhadi was the first poet to have been appointed to this position. He was followed by Faizi[1] who enjoyed the same status, though Persian was not his mother tongue.

Abul Fazl, in *A'in-i-Akbari,* has mentioned the names of those fifty one Persian poets who had got access to the royal court. Besides them, there were many others, countless in number, who were keenly desirous of obtaining this opportunity. They composed poems in praise of the king with the hope that some day they would also get that honour.

The system that Akbar had adopted, was the promotion of poets from the court of a noble to royal patronage and it was quite healthy, so far as versatality in literature was concerned. The professional rivalry and the spirit of competition urged the poets to produce some thing novel, and this very much enriched the Persian literature which was produced at the Mughal court. As it was clearly distinct in its characteristic from what was produced in Persia it has

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1. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* Vol. III, pp. 172-176, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Abul Fazl Allami, Translated by : H. Blochmann (in 3 vols.), Calcutta, Low Price PUblications, 1997 A.D, Vol.I, p.304, *Majma ul Khawas,* by Sadequi Afshar (D.1018 A) Published by University of Tabriz, 1327 A.H./1948 A.D., pp. 138-139 *Khairul Bayan,* Husain Bin Ghayas uddin Mahmud, Copy of MSS British Musium, No. 108, fol. 229 and *Arafat ul Ashiqin,* fols. 520-522.

been called by modern scholars of Persian *Sabk-i-Hindi* (Indian style). This tradition was followed by his descendants, Jahangir and Shahjahan.[1]

The poetic genius of Jahangir also was more developed than that of Akbar. He selected Talib-i-Amuli for the position of poet laureate at his court. This decision he took after long deliberation and found him appropriate to this rank.

Shahjahan's main interest was in architecture, but in spite of that he also maintained the tradition of his ancestors. Qudsi Mash'hadi and Abu Talib Kalim were more prominent than others. He also took part in literary discussions and sometimes commented upon the verses of Nizami of Ganja.

One of the examples of the wit of Jahangir is that, once a poet composed a Qaside (a laudative poem) in praise of Jahangir and recited the first line:

"Aye taj-i-dau lat bar sarat az ibtida ta intiha."

He meant that, "Oh (king) the crown of empire be upon your head from beginning to the end." Jahangir interrupted him and asked if he knew prosody. The poet accepted that he did not know. Jahangir said, that it was in his interest, otherwise he deserved to be beheaded. When the line was scanned and its feet were pointed out, it read:

Aye taj-i-daulat bar sarat az ibtida ta intiha

which gives the meaning "oh (King) the crown of two kicks be upon your head, from beginning to the end."

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1. In *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, under the events of the fourth year of his accession, he writes "On this day Talib Amuli got the title of poet laureate and obtained the robe of honour. As his poetic diction excelled that of others, he therefore, has been promoted to the position of poets who are of first rank in their grade." See : PP.75-80.

Such was the highly refined literary taste of the Timurid rulers of Hindustan. Under their patronage, not only Persian literature expanded but also became so refined that every idea was expressed in lucid, delicate and sophisticated manner.

Besides, the poets had also their own guilds, which regularly organized meetings. There the poets, associated with the court of some noble recited their poetical compositions in his presence. As there operated the spirit of competition this also helped to enrich Persian literature, particularly poetry. When a poet recited his poem, it was critically examined by the participants. Fellow poets appreciated it whereas their rivals passed sarcastic remarks. But, its ultimate benefit was that on the one hand the language was becoming rapidly fluent and on the other the versatile thoughts distilled in Indian culture were giving it a new dimension.

It would not be wide of the mark to point out here, that most of the Persian poets were immigrants; a majority of them was from the Safavid Persia, and comparatively a small number from Transoxiana, which will be discussed in detail in coming pages. As the poets from the Safavid Persia were in majority they tried to continue the same style of poetry which was in vogue in their home land. But, as the Mughal kings were Turkish speaking they had a soft corner for the poets who belonged to Transoxiana. This amalgamation of various Persian and Turkish dialects produced a new style, which was identified as *Sabk-i-Hindi* by modern critics of Persian literature.[1]

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1. Some of the poets who came from Persia knew Persian with some of its dialect but there were others who were bilingual and could speak Persian as well as the Turkish dialect spoken in Azarbyjan province and surrounding parts of it.

Before the time of Akbar all the revenue records were kept in Hindi. But Raja Todarmal switched over to Persian. Besides, the Mughals, like their ancestors, always maintained the records of their court proceedings. For this particular purpose they appointed chroniclers, at least two in number, at the royal court and at every provincial capital.[1] Above all, the Mughals, like their predecessos were very keen to get their own achievements recorded as well as those of their ancestors. For this purpose they engaged several historians who wrote in ornate style their biographies alongwith their performances.[2] The administrative requirments and the maintenance of court proceedings called for some men of letters and fluent prose writers, who adopted the same ornate style which was prevalent at the Safavid court. The Persian speaking people looked askance at the superiority of the Persian prose written by Turkish speaking people. Sometimes they were at daggers drawn regarding this matter. Abul Fazl (958-1013 A.H./1551-1604 A.D.) was the first man who made an adjustment between the prose of the Persian speaking Turks and that of those whose mother tongue was Persian. He had also in consideration the requirements of the soil of Hindustan. These factors produced a new style in Persian prose writing.[3]

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1. The poets who came from Tranxosiana spoke Turkish, spoken in Azarbyjan.

2. About *Sabk-i-Hindi,* detailed discussion will be made under, "Persian litrature under the Safavids."

3. For detailed information regarding Persian prose writing style during the reign of Akbar, see: *Sabk Shinasi Ya Tarikh-i-Tahawwul-i-Nasr-i-Farsi* (History of the evolution of Persian prose) by Muhammad Taqi Bahar, Vol.III, pp. 290-291.

He compiled a Persian dictionary, in which he tried to replace Arabic vocabulary by the words used in Dari dialect (one of the dialects of Persian. commonly spoken in present Afghanistan and some parts of Transoxiana to which the Timurids belonged). In this period Persian was used to express thoughts related to various subjects. Besides translations made from Sanskrit into Persian and commentaries of several Arabic texts written in Persian, some other original works were also done in this language. Among them history writing got top priority. The books like *Akbar Nama, A'in-i-Akbari and Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* along with several others are worth mentioning here. Abul Fazl, in *Akbar Nama* has presented the king in the form of a hero and has given him very high regard and respect. But, Badauni has vehemently criticised him, particularly and also the religious policy that Akbar had adopted.

It is noteworthy that of all the measures taken either for the revival or expansion of cultural activities, it was Persian which played an important role.

Relations with Persia and central Asia were established through this language. This language throughout the whole reign of the Mughals in Hindustan, particularly during the time of Akbar, was the richest and most powerful medium to transfer contemporary Persian culture and revive the ancient tradition in this part of the world. Besides, it also contributed to the development of contemporary literature, philosophical thoughts and Islamic art. Akbar, at cultural and intellectual level brought about a great revolution in different fields and for this purpose he used only this language.He ordered the intellectuals of his court to translate Sanskrit, Arabic and Turkish masterpieces

into Persian.It was under his patronage that the ***Mahabharata,***[1] the *Ramayna*,[2] the *Raj Tarangni*,[3] the *Nal Damyanti*,[4] the *Sanghasan Batisi*,[5] the *Panjtantra*,[6] the *Katha Sagar*,[7] the ***Jami-ut Tawarikh***[8] (of Rashidi) the

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1. This epic is the masterpiece of Sanskrit literature. Though it deals with the war affairs of two Aryan clans, Korovas and Pandvas, yet in fact this work is a social, cultural, historical and religious encyclopedia of Hindu religion. It was translated into Persian during 990-995 A.H./1582-1586 A.D. and was named ***Razm Nama*** (book of war). For its translation Mullah Abdul Qadir Badauni, Abul Fazl, FAizi, Naqib Khan, Mullah Shiri and Haji Sultan Thanesari were engaged.

2. This epic stands next to the *Mahabharta* and deals with the life of Rama. As it deals with Hindu philosophy, therefore it is considered a sacred book by Hindus. This was translated into Persian in 995 A.H./1586 A.D. by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni and Haji Sultan Thanesari.

3. This book deals with the ancient history of Kashmir. The original work, which is in Sanskrit, was translated into Persian by Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahabadi and named *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (history of Kashmir).

4. A romantic story derived from the *Mahabharta,* dealing with the love affair of Nala (the hero) and Damyanti (the heroin). In this story, Damyanti is symbol of loyalty, faithfulness and scarifice of a Hindu woman for her husband. This was translated into Persian by Faizi in 1003 A.H./1594 A.D., and was named *Nal Daman.*

5. A collection of puzzling stories, attributed to Vikramajit, a legendary Hindu ruler of Bharat Varsha. It was translated into Persian by Mullah Abdul QadIr Badauni and named it *Khirad Afza* (wisdom developing).

6. A collection of fables, in which all the characters are animals, represented as the symbols of wisdom, strength, simplicity and craftiness. This book was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi, during the Sassanid period. During the Abbasid period it was rendered from Pahlavi into Arabic. During 6th the century of the Islamic era (13th century A.D.) it was re-written in ornate style by Nasr ullah Munshi. During the Timurid period it was abridged in simple Persian by Husain Waiz Kashfi and was named *Anwar-i-Suhaili* (the light of canoups). Abul Fazl, again translated directly from Sanskrit in 996 A.D./1587 A.D. and named it *Ayar-i-danish* (the standard of knowledge).

7. A collection of folk tales, translated by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni in 1003 A.H./1594 A.D. and was named *Bahr ul Asmar* (the ocean of the tales).

8. Written by Rashid ud din Fazl Ullah in Arabic. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni made its abridged translation into Persian in 993 A.H./1584 A.D.

Tariksh ul Hukama,[1] the *Mu'jamul Buldan,*[2] the *Waqiat-i-Baburi*[3] and other works were rendered into Persian.

Tazkira Navisi (biography writing) is an art of writing that covers history and literature. Special attention was paid to this art under the cultural movement, started by Akbar. It is worth mentioning here that *Lubab ul Albab,* compiled by Muhammad A'ufi is the last significant work, written in Hindustan. This was followed by none other.But, during the reign of Akbar as well as in the later period, many writers showed such deep interest in this field that biography writing in Persian became a separate branch in the field of historiography. In biography writing emphasis was laid on recording the lives of poets. Abul Fazl, Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni and Nizam Uddin have written separate chapters pertaining to the biographies of poets, but Mir Ala Ud daula, son of Mir Yahya compiled a separate book, namely *Nafais ul Ma'asir,* which deals with the lives of poets, in which specimens of their works have also been included. This biography is considered so far the best of its time. Among other poetical biographies which are worth mentioning here, are: *Tazkira-i-Haft Iqlim* by Amin Ahmad Razi, *Tazkira-i-Majmaul Fuzala* by Mulla Baqayi, *Tazkira-i-But-Kadah*

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1. This book was written by Shahr Zuri, Maqsud Ali Tabrizi translated it from Arabic into Persian and named it *Nuzhat ul Arwah* (the fragrance for the souls).

2. This Arabic work on geography was written by Yaqut Hamvi, it was translated into Persian by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, Mulla Ahmad of Thatta, Qasim Beg and Sheikh Munawwar.

3. The original work is in Chaghtai dialect of Turkish. It was translated by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan into simple Persian and was named *"Baber Nama."*

by Mulla Muhammad Sufi Mazandrani and *Tazkira-i-Bazm-Ara* by Mir Saiyid Ali son of Mahmud Husaini.[1]

Secretaries in the correspondence department of every ruler have always played very significant role. They were specially trained for this office, and they prepared themselves for reading the letters and mandates which were exchanged between friendly or hostile rulers. Abul Fazl's correspondence and memoirs were also recorded, so that they might serve as specimen for the succeeding generations.

As mentioned above, the Mongols and their successors were very keen to keep the record of their achievements. Akbar also followed his ancestors in this regard and laid much emphasis on recording the history of his time. For this purpose, he engaged several historians, who produced valuable works like; *Akbar Nama, A'in-i-Akbari, Tarikh-i-Alfi,*[2] compiled by Jalal Uddin Shirazi in 1017 A.H./1608 A.D. and *Madar ul Afazil,* compiled by Allah Dad Faizi Sarhindi in 1000 A.H./1601 A.D. Besides, a bilingual dictionary entitled *Parsi Parakasha* (Sanskrit-Persian) was compiled by Krishna Das.

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1. Mir Yahya, the complier of *Lub-ut-Tawarikh* lived during the reign of Shah Tahmasb Safavi, he was imprisoned as he was the follower of Sunni sect; there he died in 963 A.H./1555 A.D. His son Mir Ala'uddaula migrated to Hindustan with his relatives and settled down here.

2. In the year 993 A.H./1584 A.D. Akbar appointed Mulla Ahmad of Thatta to compile the millenary history of Islam. This work he started with the help of Mirza Qavamuddin Jafar Beg Qazvini entitled Asif Khan (d.1021 A.H./1612 A.D.), Mir Ghayas Uddin Ali son of Abdul Latif Qazvini entitled Naqib Khan (d. 1023 A.H./ 1614 A.D.), Mulla Fath Ullah Shirazi (d.997 A.H./1588 A.D.), Khwaja Nizam Uddin Harvi (d.1003 A.H./1594 A.D.) Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, Hakim Ali Gilani entitled Jalinus-i-Zaman The Galen of his age (d.1018 A.H./1609 A.D.) and Hakim Humam Gilani (d.1004 A.H./1595 A.D.), the younger brother of Hakim Humam Abul Fath. The book was named *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (History of one thousand years). Mulla Ahmad was killed in 996 A.H./1585 A.D. by Mirza Faulad See: *Muntakhabut Tawarikh* by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, Vol.II, p.319.

The development of cultural activities synchronised with the development of rational and traditional sciences under Akbar. Scientists like Mullah Fathullah Shirazi entitled Azud ul Mulk, Maulana Ilyas of Ardbil, the astronomer, Nuruddin Tarkhan Safiduni and Mulla Mirza were engaged in scientific studies and produced marvelbous works.

This is also noteworthy, that the cultural and intellectual activities started by Akbar led to the advancement of fine arts as well including miniature work, calligraphy, picture painting and music. Several artists, local as well as immigrants were busy in their works independently and also in collaboration with each other. In the coming chapter we shall discuss the impact of Persian immigrants on the art and culture of this soil.

AKBARS RELIGIOUS POLICY

When we talk about culture in a broad sense, it also covers religion and its rituals. Religion in our social, political and individual life has always played very important role, the evidence of which can be produced from books, holy scriptures, inscriptions and historical monuments.

Religion, being part and parcel of culture has always compelled reverence. It is so ingrained in every individual that he has always exploited it for ulterior motives. Even today man is not devoid of religious prejidices. Several Muslim kings ruled the people claiming to be shadow of God and the lord of the earth. Timur did not remain contented even with this; he justified his

claim to be the rightful ruler by declaring himself the restorer of the faith.[1] Such rulers, whether in Persia or in some other country framed such rules and dealt with the common people in such a manner that every individual had a particular view regarding his faith. These rules (called tenets) of jurisprudence were so complex that in the last analysis, they proved contradictory to each other. The Safavids in Persia and the Mughals in Hindustan, particularly Shah Abbas I and Akbar, respectively looked upon religion and its rituals from their own points of view, quite contrary to each other in several aspects. The rulers of both the dynasties also used the clergy for their purpose, with the result that they interpreted religion as the rulers desired.

But, in spite of that there was a class of theologians who were impartial in their views and they had won the sympathy of the common people and they, in some way or the other voiced the sentiments of the common man in the imperial courts. This attitude of those balanced theologians brought them into conflict with the rulers who usually tried to compromise with them at any rate.

But, as mentioned above, there were still some theologians who used religion as a means to attain their personal and political ends. Such theologians,

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1. Amir Timur Kurgan wrote to Sultan Bayazid Khan in his second letter, "There is no doubt in it, that I come in the category of ululamr (those who are endowed with authority) and according to (this verse of Glorious *Quran*) (i.e., God, Almighty) exalted the ranks of some persons in relation to others, therefore, it is necessary for an inferior to obey his Superior." Here by calling him *"ulul Amr"*, he has referred to this verse of the Glorious Quran" Obey God and obey the Apostle, and such as possesses authority amongst yourselves."

   With the support of these two verses particularly with the help of the compound word "ululamr", he has tried to prove that he was entitled to be called successor of prophet Muhammad. For further detail, See: *Asnad-o-mukatibat-i-Tarikhi-i-Iran* (historical documents and letter of Iran) under "Az Timur ta Shah Ismail (from Timur to Shah Ismail), compiled by Abdul Husain Nawai, published by Shirkat-i-Intisharat-i-Ilmi o Farhangi, Tehran, 1370 A.H. (1991 A.D.), p.99.

sometimes gave such interpretations to the verses of the holy scripture that its meanings were quite contrary to its contents.

When we make a survey of the human society during the reigns of Safavids and Timurids we come across several social, political and religious problems or matters related to those subjects. These problems had become the burning topics during the tenth century A.H. (16th-17th century A.D.) and they assumed such a dimension that many Persian scholars were compelled to migrate to Hindustan. Here, we shall compare the conditions prevailing during the Safavid period in Persia with those of the Mughal Hindustan, particularly during the reigns of Shah Abbas I and Akbar.

During the regime of the Delhi sultanate and Akbar's father and grandfather, the polity had operated by and large on the basis of Islam/kufr dichotomy, even though Islam was not always placed at the state's commanding heights and the ulama were not given the level of authority that a truly theocratic state would have given them. It was Akbar who made an experiment with a definite alternative worldview in which the Islam/kufr dichotomy got dissolved. Akbar was personally deply interested in questions of religion and philosophy and, starting with the assummption of taking nothing for granted, nor privileging anything, he opened the gates to debates and discussions with professors of various religions. This was done in the famous Ibadat Khana at Fathpur Sikri.

Gradually, the assumption became state policy, enunciated in the formulation, sulh kul, universal peace. About this Akbar's son and successor, Jahangir was to write later.

This world view had much in common with two cultural streams, whcih merged in each other with ease: the Sufi and the Bhakti streams, both running at the ground level in medieval Indian society. Profesor S.A.A. Rizvi has explored the relationship in a profound manner in several of his writings, but particularly in his *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*. Besides, Akbar's marriages into Hindu ruling families, his proclamation of *Din-i-Ilahi* and the signing of the *Mahzar* by the ulama of his court -- all of this formed elements in the constitution of an alternate cultural and religious milieu.

It was into this alternate milieu that several Persians, persecuted in their homeland by the Shia dogmatism of Safavid rulers, fled and found shelter.

Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini while giving the reply of the letter of Prof. E.G. Browne, while accepting his view, also further adds that :

> There is no doubt, that during the Safavid period Persian literature, particularly poetry was on decline and not even a single first rate poet appeared on the scene at that time. Probably the main cause was that the Safavids, as they were politically anti-Ottoman empire, spent much of their energy on the propagation of Shiism and encouraged those religious scholars who were profound in the tenets of this sect. Though they made best efforts for the unity of country on sectarian basis (which resulted in the political unity of the country) and the foundation of present day Persia was laid by those country men who were united on linguistic, racial and sectarian ground. But, they paid no attention to the development of Persian literature and mysticism - which they called human transcendencies (opposed to

religious laws) -- They also created means to harass and discourage those who were the exponents of these transcendencies, because most of them were not fully acquainted with the principles of the Shiite sect and the rituals related to it. The mystics were particularly persecuted. They were convicted, extradited, chastised and were even given capital punishment. Some of them were either killed or burnt alive because of the personal whims of the theologians or by a religious decree.

The relation between literature and mysticism, in Persia is quite evident. Extirpation of one would automatically cause the extinction or annihilation of the other. It was for this reason that literature and mysticism bade farewell to their homeland. Monasteries and the shrines of darvishes were demolished so mercilessly that today nobody hears about these welfare centres. Here, it should also be pointed out that instead of poets, there arose great jurists, like Majlisi, Muhaqqiq-i-Sani (Muhaqqiq II), Sheikh Hurr-i-Amuli, Sheikh Bahai and others. No doubt, they were geniuses (in their subjects), but in spite of that they were extremely fanatic and quite intolerant.

The second argument which Qazvini has given for the absence of first rate poets in that period is the absence of royal patronage. Shah Tahmasb and Shah Abbas I preferred that the holy Imams should be praised rather than the kings and by that means they could obtain some reward from them. Further he argues that, as the poets could earn more money by praising

the kings than the holy Imams, so, many of them migrated to Hindustan to join the Mughal court, where they hoped to obtain better means for living. The number of poets who migrated to this sub-continent was so great that they were able to establish a new school in Persian literature.[1]

Professor E.G.Brown kept himself restricted to the study of Persian poetry but in the opinion of Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini the whole Safavid period was barren in cultural sphere. He is of the opinion that not only Persian literature, but mysticism and philosophy also suffered and could not get proper opportunity for their development.

Yan Rypka also agrees with Professor E.G.Brown in this regard[2] and considers that Persian literature, during the Safavid period was on its decline. The reason which he has mentioned is that there was utter negligence of Persian poets and therefore, they had no other alternative other than migrating from their home land. This is not the opinion of the orientalists alone but Reza Quli Hidayat and Malikush Shoara Bahar, the modern writers and critics of Persian literature also fall in with their views. But, Ehsan Yar Shater does not agree with any one of them.[3] In his view all the above mentioned writers have been extremists in their judgment.

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1. *A Literary History of Persia,* by E.G.Brown (Cambridge 1925, 8), Vol. IV PP. 24-29; Rajer Savory, *Iran under the Safavids,* translated by Kambiz Azizi, Sahar Publication, 1366 A.H., pp.182-185.

2. *History of Iranian literature* by Yan Rypka et al, ed. Karl Jahn (Dordrecht 1968), p.292.

3. Ehsan Yar Shater, *"Safavid Literature : Progress or Decline"* in Iranian Studies, VII, 1974, pp.223-225, 217-270.

taste and could not appreciate the masterpieces of poetry. Before discriminating between the literary taste of the Mughals and the Safavids the following points should be kept in mind.

The Safavids also had poetic talent and patronized first rate poets. Shah Ismail (907 - 930 A.H./1502-1523 A.D) was an excellent poet and had adopted "Khatai"[1] as his pen name. Most of his works are in the Turkish dialect spoken in Azarbayjan. He has left a Divan (Collection of poems) and a *Mathnavi* (epic), consisting of one thousand and four hundred verses which has been published under the title of Dehnama.[2] In Persian he has left one Ghazal (Romantic poem) and three Matlas (opening line of a poem).[3]

Shah Tahmasb Safavi (930 - 984 A.H./1523 - 1576 A.D) was also a poet and excelled in improvisation. Most of his contemporary poets have composed poems in his praise. Among them, U'rfi Kamangar of Tabriz was more renowned than others. He wrote one hundred thirty Qasidas (laudatory poems) in his praise and received rewards repeatedly. He composed a *Mathnavi* (epic) entitled *"Gui-o-Chugan"* (The polo-stick and its ball) and received forty Tumans (Persian standard coin) only for that.[4]

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1. *Silsilat un nasab-i Safavi* (the genealogy of Safavid dynasty) by Sheikh Husain Pirzada, p.68.

2. *Diwan-i-Shah Ismail* (poetical collection of Shah Ismail), Baku edition, pp.550, 555 and 556.

3. Quoted from *Rauzat us Salatin* (the garden of the kings), edited by Saiyid Husam uddin Rashidi, see under Fakhri Harri, p.271.

4. *Haft Iqlim* (Seven continents) by Amin Ahmad Razi (of Rey city) Vol. III, p.247, *Arafat ul Ashiqin* (the pilgrimage place of the lovers), by Taqiuddin Auhadi, fol. 507.

Hayrati of Tun was an intimate friend and companion of Shah Tahmasb. He was so close to the king that his contemporary poet, Fuzuli Baghdadi, residing at Najaf (a place near Baghdad, where the holy Shrine of Hazrat-i-Ali is built) also once pointed out in the following verse:[1]

man ze khan-i-Arab o Hayrati az Mulk-i-Ajam
Har do gashtim be izhar-i-sukhan kam talab
Yaftim az do karam pisha murad-i-dil-i-khish
u'zar az shah-i-Ajam, man nazar az shah-i-Arab.

(I belong to Arabia and Hayrati comes from the land of Persia. Both of us got successful by proclaiming our poems. Both fulfilled our heart desires from two generous persons. He got gold from the king of Persia and I received the favour of the Lord of Arabia, i.e. Hazrat Ali).

Mir Huzuri of Qum went to the imperial camp at Qazvin town, the meeting place of the poets of Khurasan and Iraq. There, after a very short time, he crept into the good graces of the king, who fixed an annual stipend for him.[2]

One day, somebody was praising the poetical works of Amir Khusrau of Delhi. At this the king pointed to Zamiri of Isfahan and said, "we also have this poet like Amir Khusrau, who is as excellent in subtlety as was he".[3]

Mayili of Tabriz went to the imperial camp and presented the qasida (Laudatory poem) that he had composed in praise of the king. While admiring equity, justice and the courage of the king he also drew his attention to the

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1. Badauni, *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.II, p.207. *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* p.178.
2. *Maktab-i-Wuqu*. Ahmad Gulchin maa'ni, Tehran, 1348 A.H./1969 A.D., p.84
3. Ibid, p.300

oppressions done by Mirza Ahmad Kufrani, the minister of crown lands of Farsi (?). An amount of thirty Tumans was granted and handed over to Mirza Ahmad Kufrani on the condition that the amount would be paid by the minister to those from whom he had taken money by force and be paid as much as would be suggested by the poet.[1]

Taqiuddin Auhadi writes in his Tazkira (a compilation consisting of the biographies of poets) that Shah Tahmasb was gifted with (by God) fluent poetic talent. With deep thinking he excelled in improvisation and had the quality to aprrehend the spirit of poetic genius. The compiler of this *Tazkira* had seen the remarks made by Shah Tahmasb on the margin of the books, inscribed by Humayun, the Mughal emperor. In his remark he had condemned Mirza Kamran (the brother of Humayun) and charged him as Khariji (dissenter) by writing this verse:

Kamran Kharijist miguyand

Khariji Kamran na mi bashad

(They say that Kamran is a dissenter. A dissenter is never successful).[2]

Shah Ismail II (984-985 A.H./1576-77 A.D.) was also an excellent poet and used "A'dili" as pen name in his poetical compositions. He was also interested in painting. Iskandar Beg Munshi, describing the account of Halaki, states that the poet mentions that he had composed a qasida in praise of the king. After some time he reached the capital seat of the empire. There he presented his poetical composition and received the reward of twelve thousand Tumans.[3]

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1. *Haft Iqlim*, Vol. I, p.171, *Khazana-i-Amira*, Mir Ghulam ALi Azad Husaini waseti Bilgcrami, Nawal Kishore Publication, Kanpur, 1871, A.D, p.407

2. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol.482.

3. *Alam ara-i-Abbassi*, p.178

Amin Ahmad Razi, giving further account of this poet writes that, in the prime of his youth he joined the service of Sultan Husain Mirza Bahram Mirza, the ruler of Qandhar. He was so richly rewarded by his patron that he spent the rest of his life in prosperity.[1] After reaching Qandhar, he composed a Qasida in praise of Sultan Husain Mirza Bahram Mirza, the opening lines of which are:

Az Khurasan-o-Iraq Ahl-i-Sukhan bastand bar
Jumla ra maqsud Hind-o-maqsad-i-ma Qandhar

(the poets of Khurasan and Iraq have packed off. their destination is Hind, while my is Qandhar).[2]

Shah Muhammad Khuda Banda (985-996 A.H./1577-1587 A.D.) was also fond of fine arts (music,painting and poetry). He composed poems under the pen name "Fahmi".[3] Huzni of Isfahan was his contemporary, who had migrated from his birth place to Qazvin. The king invited him several times and always accorded him a warm reception. He was awarded fifty Tumans by the king.[4] Figari of Juwayn was also another poet, who was in good books of the king. He received many concessions from his patron. Finally he was posted at the holy shrine of Imam Reza (Mash'had) and there he received a regular salary.[5]

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1. Amin Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.II, p.565

2. *Khair ul Bayan*, by Husain bin Ghayas uddin Mahmoud, COpy of MSS British Musium, Fol. 108-224.

3. *Majma'ul Khawas*, by Sadiqi Afshar (d.1018 A.H), Danish Kada-i-Adabiyat-i-Tabriz (Faculty of the Literature of Tabriz) Publication, Muassisa-i-Tarikh O Farhang-i-Iran (The institute of History and Culture of Iran) Tabriz, 1327 A.H./1948 A.D., pp.9 and 10. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol.324.

4. *Maktab-i-Wuqu*, p.59.

5. *Khulasat ul A sha'r.* Taghi uddin Muhammad bin Ali Husaini Kashi, Mss. of British musium, No.105.

Shah Abbas I (996-1038/1587-1628 A.D.) was himself a poet and used "Abbas" as his noma de plume in his poetical compositions. In spite of the fact that he had to meet the heavy expenses incurred on long journeys and war campaigns, he paid much attention to poets. We know that many Persian poets were weighed with gold at the court of the Mughal rulers. But he was the first among all his contemporary rulers who weighed a poet against bullion. He gave gold and silver coins to Shani Takallu equal to his weight as reward when he composed the following verse in praise of Hazrat Ali.

Aqar dushman kashad Saghar wagar dust

be taq abru-i-mardana-i-ust

If (Any person, whether a friend or a foe, drinks wine, he puts it in the drinking cup, shaped like his eye brow). It was after him that Jahangir, the Mughal emperor weighed a poet against silver coins.[1] In Isfahan, Qahvah Khana (Coffee House) was the place where people of different classes gathered. Shah Abbas also sometimes paid a visit there and enjoyed the company of the poets. He encouraged them to recite verses extemporaneously.[2] He also suggested in 971 A.H./1592 A.D. that the accounts of the poets with their literary compositions should be compiled. Consequently two Tazkirahs (biographies of poets with the specimens of their poetic compositions), *Khulasat ul A'shar* and *A'rafat ul A'shiqin* were produced.

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1. *Jahangir Nama*, (Tuzak-i-Jahangiri), Nawal Kishor Publication, P.215.

2. About the poets who attended the meeting of Qahwah Khana, See: *Tazkira-i-NasrAbadi*, p.460 and also the book entitled, *Zindagani-i-Shah Abbas*, Vol.I and II, pp.352-355.

When Shani Takallu, lost the favour of Shah Abbas because of his avarice Taqi Uddin Auhadi received his favour. He was always in the company of the king, both in stay and travel. The poet writes in his account that, "for a long time I was continuously in the service of His Majesty, during that period, I was so many times awarded gold, robe of honour and mules.[1]

Aqdasi of Mash'had went to Qazvin, a few days after the accession of Shah Abbas I. When the king came to know that he was there, he sent for him and listened joyfully to some of his literary compositions. He admired them so much that he noted down some of them in his diary and honoured him with royal favour.[2]

Amina of Najaf, the poet, went to Isfahan in 1017 A.H/ 1608 A.D. The king received him warmly and awarded one hundred Tumans.[3]

Fazli of Golpaigan, the poet, was awarded a fief by the king.

Nizam Uddin Ahmad Sharmi of Qazvin was an excellent poet, He was running a tailoring shop. When Shah Abbas I, came to know that he was a talented poet, he suggested him to accompany him to Isfahan. There he fixed his annual stipend for his livelihood.[4]

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1. *Arafat-ul-Ashiqin*, fols.359-371.

2. *Tazkira-i-Mai Khana*, by : MUlla Abd ul Nabi Fakhr ul Zamani Qazvini, edited by : Ahmad Gulchin Maani, Tehran 1339 A.H., pp. 236 - 239

3. *Arafat-ul-Ashiqin*, Fol.125

4. Ibid, fol. 378 and *Khair ul Bayan* fol. 290

Etabi Takallu composed an epic and dedicated it to Shah Abbas I. He was awarded Taranad, a village situated in vermin district.[1]

Hakim Rukna Masih of Kashan, was among the close companions[2] of Shah Abbas I. Mirza Malik Mashriqi was appointed in his place when he migrated to Hindustan.[3] Shah Murad of Khansar was awarded a handsome cash amount with a robe of honour.[4]

Fasihi Ansari, the poet laureate of Khurasan province, was awarded first time in 1006 A.H./1597 A.D. and second time in 1013 A.H./1605 A.D. at the time when Shah Abbas I undertook the journey to Khurasan. He had the honour of accompanying him when he was proceeding to Isfahan. There he was highly favoured and given handsome awards.[5]

Amir Abul Baqa Tafreshi, Mir Sadruddin Muhammad bin Sharaf-i-Jahan Qazvini and Nizam of Tabriz were engaged in compiling a *Tazkirah* (the accounts of poets with their works as specimen) by Shah Abbas I. They were paid every year a very handsome amount.[6]

Mahmud Natanzi writes that, "Shah Abbas (I), after administering law and order in Khurasan (province) in 969 A.H.(1590 A.D.) went to Isfahan (the

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1. *Tazkirah-i-Maikhana,* p.438

2. *Gulistan-i-Hunar,* by Ghazi Ahmad Qummi, edited by Ahmad Suhaili Khunsari, Tehran, 1352 A.H., pp. 122-123 and *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* pp. 619 and 631.

3. *Tazkirah-i-Maikhana* p.588

4. *Tazkirah-i-Nasrabadi* p.318

5. *Tazkirah-i-Maykhana* pp. 574-575 and *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* p.988

6. *Tarikh-e-Tazkira ha-i Farsi,* by Ahmad Gulchin Maa'ni, Tehran, 1348 A.H., Vol. I, pp. 169,267 and 381

capital seat of the empire). There he invited the poets of that city. As he wanted to test their capability and examine their poetic genius, so he suggested a couplet and asked them to compose their verses parallel to that. When the poets accomplished their works, the king attentively listened to their compositions, every one was suitably awarded. Each one of them was distinguished among his contemporaries; he awarded rich robes of honour and other awards in abundance. Some of them were promised some good position, while others were given high ranks. In this way he made them distinguished in the society of poets."[1]

Malik Shah Husain of Sistan, the compiler of that *Tazkirah* writes that, he had heard Shah Abbas, the highly honoured and exalted (King), saying that: "Today, there is no one of the status of Mirza Fasihi and Abu Turab Beg (Furqati Jushaqani) in the art of composing poetry". He further adds in this context that, "This can be said without exaggeration that in examining the poetic compositions His Royal Majesty showed a high standard and the verses which are selected by that exalted Majesty are so powerfully rich that no one can comprehand the meaning contained in them. In those days Maulana Ali Reza, the calligrapher was very close to that exalted king. On the direction of His Majesty, he compiled a selection of verses. For that purpose all the intelligent persons of the imperial camp and those residing in Herat, the capital city, were engaged. Late in the evenings, he brought the verses to the notice of His

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1. *Naqavat ul Asar Fi Zikr el Akhyar,* by Mahmoud bin Hidayat Ullah Afoushta-i-Natanzi, edited by Dr. Ihsan Ishraqi, Ilmi-o-Farhangi Publication, Second edition, Tehran, 1373 A.H., pp. 457 - 458

Majesty. He marked those verses which were appreciatted by His Majesty and they refreshed the minds (of the listeners).[1]

Apart from Shah Abbas I, the other kings of the Safavid dynasty, i.e. Shah Safi [2] (1038-1052 A.H./1629-1642 A.D.) Shah Abbas II[3] (1052-1078 A.H./1642-1667 A.H.), Shah Sulaiman[4] (1078-1106 A.H/1667-1694 A.D.) and Shah Sultan Husain[5] (106-11040 A.H./1694-1727 A.D. were also great admirers of poetry and patrons of poets. Among the descendants of this dynasty, like prince Sam Mirza,[6] prince Alqas mirza[7] and princess Parikhan Khanum were also engaged either in poetic compilations or enjoyed poetry by inviting the poets to their private assemblies.

From the facts mentioned above, this is clearly evident that the Safavid rulers were very fond of poetry and greatly favoured Persian poets. This small also be mentioned here that the conclusion that Professor E.G.Brown, Muhammad Qazvini and other critics have drawn (that the Safavid rulers preferred that the Holy Imams should be praised rather than the rulers of their

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1. *Khair ul Bayan*, fol. 301.

2. *Tazkirah-i-Nasr Abadi*, **p.77**, *Tazkirah-i-Ruz-i-Roshan* by Maulavi Muhammad Muzaffar Husain Saba, Razi Publication, Tehran, 1343 A.H., p.391 and *Danishmandan-i-Azarbayjan* compiled by Muhammad Ali Tarbiyat, Tehran, 1314 A.H.(1935 A.D.),p.237

3. *Tazkirah-i-Nasrabadi*, pp. 9-10

4. Ibid, pp. 355 and 434

5. Bilgarami, *Khazana-i-Amirah*, pp. 368 and 369

6. Sam Mirza Safavi, *Tuhfa-i-Sami*, printed by Ilmi Press, Tehran, 1314 A.H./1935 A.D., pp.377-380

7. *Majma-ul-Khawas* p.23 and *Danishmandan-i-Azarbayjan* by Muhammad Ali Tarbiat, Tehran, 1314 A.H., pp. 50-51

dynasty), is misleading and erroneous in view of the following statement of Iskander Beg Munshi, who mentions that:

> "In the exalted class of poets, who adorn the speech by setting the words and putting the meanings in poetic order, there are many in the imperial camp, while there are countless others who dwell in the fortified countries. In the early days of the rule of His Majesty, now residing in his heavenly abode (i.e., late Shah Tahmasb) this class was enjoying his favour fully. For some time, Mirza Sharaf Jahan and Maulana Hairati were his companions and were associated with his reverend assembly. But, in the last days of his life he laid much emphasis "on enjoining the good and prohibiting to do evil" and considered the class of poets who were non committed impious persons. It was for this reason that he did not pay much of his attention and permit them to present any fragment of laudatory poem in his praise Maulana Muhtasham, (in the mean time) sent from Kashan, an excellent qasida in praise of His Majesty and the other in praise of princess parikhan Khanum, the chaste lady of the time. The qasida was presented to him through Parikhan Khanum. At this the late His Majesty (residing in his heavenly abode)

the late His Majesty (residing in his heavenly abode) said, "I do not like that the poets of the age should open their mouth in my praise. They should, praise rather than me the Sultan of the state, (i.e., Ali) and the holy Imams (peace be upon all of them), so that they may get the reward from their pious souls and then should expect from me as the subtle meanings, the lofty ideas and far fetched metaphors that they use for the kings, in most cases are not applicable to them. It would be wise, on their part if they attribute them to the sacred personalities of the holy Imams, because their glory is much above their praise. In short, Maulana Muhtasham did not get reward from His Excellency and when this news reached Maulana (Muhtasham), he composed seven strophes parallel to the poetic composition of late Maulana Hasan Kashi - who had praised in his poem the Sultan, (i.e Ali) occupying the throne of the guidance (of the people). He composed it by divine inspiration and the composition was so excellent that it was beyond the reach of the poets of the time - Maulana Muhtasham sent his composition (to the king) and received a suitable award. (Since then) the poets of the capital city started to compose their poems in seven strophes. Fifty to sixty excellent poems, in the form of seven strophes, were presented turn by turn (to the king) and all the poets were honoured with award."[1]

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1. Iskandar Beg, *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, p.178.

From the quotation of Iskander Beg Munshi given above it is clearly evident that Shah Tahmasb, in the early days of his reign, was not only fond of poetry, but also was very friendly with poets. But, in his old age he was more inclined towards religious affairs. It was for this reason that he paid only a little attention to the assemblies of joy and poets. The change of this attitude was the main cause that he preferred that the holy Imams should be praised rather than he. But, this indifference did not deprive the class of poets of obtaining royal privilege; rather they were generously awarded when they praised the holy Imams, and this gave them incentive to stay at the imperial court. Even the poets who migrated to Hindustan have praised the holy Imams and prophet Muhammad. The poetical collections of Naziri Nishaburi, U'rfi Shirazi, Kalim Kashani, Saib Tabrizi and many others clearly show that these poets were also devoted to holy Imams and the prophet of Islam. They composed their poems either out of their devotion or on the occasions when they were invited by Shia nobles, associated with the Mughal court, who also celebrated the days of the mournings of holy Imams. Nur Jahan, the favourite queen of Mughal emperor Jahangir, and her brother Asaf Khan being Shia also patronized and invited poets on the occasion when they either celebrated the days of mourning or the birth anniversary of any Imam or prophet Muhammad.

Baba Fighani was the founder of *Sabk-i-Hindi* or the Indian style. It is One of the styles of Persian prose and poetry which was very popular during the Safavid period. U'rfi, Naziri, Faizi, Talib Amuli, Kalim and Saib (the most renowned poet of *Sabk-i-Hindi)* were the prominent poets of their age. Some of them established their independent school in the art of poetry, which was so

popular that it was followed by their successors upto the Renaissance of Persian poetry. This should also be pointed out, that all the above mentioned poets, except Faizi, were born in some part of Persia and when Saib returned to his home land he was appointed the poet laureate by Shah Abbas II. These poets can fairly be identified as the seven gems of the Safavid period. It was for this reason that Shibli Nu'mani, rating them as the first grade poet, gave their account in a separate volume.

Besides, the poetic style of the Safavid period, called Sabk-i-Hindi was founded by those Persian poets who lived in Isfahan and carried it with them when they went to Sindh, Hind (i.e., Hindustan) or the Deccan. Still there is controversy whether this style should be called Sabk-i-Hindi or *Sabk-i-Isfahani.* In fact, from the point of view of those poets who follow *Sabk-i-Iraqi* (the style, prevalent before Sabk-i-Hindi the eminent poets of that style were those who produced their works after the Mughal invasion Jalaluddin Rumi, Sadi and Hafiz were more prominent than the others in that age). This style (Sabk-i-Hindi) is the corrupt form of the Standard Persian poetry (i.e., Sabk-i-Iraqi)[1]

This is also worth mentioning, that the poets who spent the last days of their life in the early days of the Safavid period, considered that they were living in the period of the decline of Persian literature. But, on the contrar the, poets born during the Safavid period were of the opinion that they had brought about remarkable change in the preceding style (i.e., *Sabk-i-Iraqi.*) Their idea was that they had enriched Persian poetry with novel thoughts, wonderful similes,

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1. Malik us Shora Bahar was of the opinion that Sabk-i-Hinid was below the standard established by the great poets like Sadi and Hafiz. See: *Sabk Shinasi,* Vol. III, p.347.

rare mathaphors and other unparalleled figures of speech. They also claimed that they had introduced the novel ideas in their literature after coming across the scholars who lived in Hind, Sindh and the Deccan. The culture of these regions also made their literary work quite obscure.[1]

2. State of Scholarship during Safavid period:

Shah Ismail Safavi, after setting at rest all the family disputes with the help of the Qazilbashids, declared the Shiite sect[2] (the follower of the twelve Imams) as the state religion and based his dynasty on it. Before he came to power the number of the Muslims, following the Shiite sect could be counted on fingers. But, with the support of his Qazil-bashid henchmen and with the military power, he added to their number at the point of dagger. Those who declined to adopt the tenets of this sect were slain brutally. It was for this reason that small number of Persian scholars, following the Sunnite sect in face of the wrath of Shah Ismail converted to Shiism. They, too preferred to live in seclusion in some remote part of the country. But, a large number of them, finding their life in great danger, migrated to some neighbouring country.[3]

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1. For detailed information, See: Ehsan Yar Shater, Safavid literature: *progress or decline*, pp.228, 237, 240 and 241. See also: *Iran under the Safavids*, by Roger Savory, Cambridge University Press, 1980, Translated by Kambiz Azizi, Sahar Publication, Tehran, 1366 A.H./1987 A.D., p.188.

2. After the death of Iman Jafar-i-Sadiq, the 6th Imam of the Shiite sect, the shiias divided into two groups. Those who followed his son, Ismail, who had died in the life-time of his father, were called Ismailities. They believe that Ismail is the seventh Imam and there is no Imam to fellow. Those Muslims who followed Imam Musa Kazim, the grandson of Imam Jafar-i-Sadiq were called Musavi. They are called the followers of the twelve Imams. According to their belief the last Imam was Mahdi. *Tarikh-i-Alam-Ara-i Abbasi* by Iskandar Beg Munshi Turkman, edited by Iraj Afshar published by Amir Kabir, Tehran 1350 A.H. (1971 A.D.), p.28.

3. Ghayas Uddin Khandmir, *Habib us Siyar* p.468.

Subsequently, the scholars of Khurasan took refuge in Transoxiana and Hindustan, while the learned men of Azarbayjan shifted to the Ottoman empire.[1] In the same manner the sages of Fars, Kirman and Khuzistan provinces went to Arabia to settle down there. It was due to this extremely sectarian policy of Shah Ismail Safavi that many scholars, sages and men of learning left their country.

The sudden and abrupt declaration of the Shiite sect as the State religion by Shah Ismail Safavi in a country where the majority of the people followed the tenets of the Sunni sect evidently resulted in an unprecedented chaos in the country.[2] A Lack of sufficient number of Shia theologians and the dearth of books on Shiite theology, particularly those required for the administrative affairs of a country, contributed greatly to aggravate the existing chaotic conditions. In this situation, it was thought wise to invite Shia theologians from

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1. One of the important persons who migrated to the Ottoman Empire, was Maulana Idris Badlisi Hakim, the writer of the epics called, *Hasht Bahisht* and *Sharafnama*. He had served as the secretary to Aqquyunlu Sultans. As he was most prominent among the Kurds, he was therefore received with great honour by Sultan Salim, the ruler of the Ottoman empire. Maulana Idris migrated to the Ottoman empire with two hundred followers and nobles of his time as a result of the Sectarian bigotry of Shah Ismail who had deep contempt for the Muslims of the Sunnite sect See: *Sharaf Nama* by Amir Sharaf Badlisi, the unabridged history of Kurdistan edited by Muhammad Abbasi, published by Ilmi printing Institute, Tehran, 1343 A.H. (1964 A.H.), p.448.

2. *Alam Ara-i-Safavi*, p.65. Besides that, Hamd Ullah Mustanfi, who compiled his book *"Nuzhat ul Oulub"* in 740 A.H. (1339 A.D.) about the geography of Persia, has also mentioned the sect and religion of every city. About Ardbil he writes, "This city is the religious centre of Sheikh Safi. Most of the people of the city follow the sect of Imam Shafi, and are the disciples of Sheikh Safi. About Salmas he writes, "the inhabitants of this city are of Sunni sect." About Aroumya he writes, "Most of its inhabitants are Shafi (the follower of Imam Shafi." About the people of Sarab he says "The people are white-skinned and belong to the sunni sect. People of Dah Khawarqan are white andfollowers of Imam Shafi. The Inhabitants of Tabriz are white and attractive. They are very proud and arrogant. They are Sunni and Shafi. For the Sunni population of other cities of Persia, see: *Nuzhat ul Qulub*, edited by Gi Lestorang, published by Dunya-i-Kitab, Tehran, 1362 A.H. (1982 A.D.) pp. 81-83 and 85-87.

other countries, like: Jabal-i-Amel, Lebanon, Bahrain[1] and Iraq, so that they could strengthen the newly founded Shia state. Nuruddin Ali bin Husain bin Abdul Ali Karaki, commonly known as Muhaggiq-i-Sani (d. 940 A.H./1533 A.D.) was the first to come to Persia. He was so respected and had such high regard in the eyes of Shah Ismail that he received seventy thousand Dinars every year from him and which he distributed among the students who studied the Shia theology. This also shows the extent to which the services of the Shia theologisms were required and how Shah Ismail encouraged them to come to Persia.

Karaki travelled to Egypt during the reign of Shah Tahmasb 930-984 A.H./1523-1576 A.D.) From there he proceeded to Iraq and then came to Persia. He met him at Qazvin, and fixed an annual stipend of Seven thousand Tumans and allotted cultivable land in Iraq for him and his successors. Muhaqqiq-i-Karaki trained a large number of jurists and the narrators of the traditions (of prophet Muhammad). In times to come all of his students proved profound teachers and each one of them further trained a large number of students. After some time, there also came some theologians to Persia from jabal-i-A'mel and Bahrain. They also worked in their own capacity for the growth and development of the Shite ideology. Muhaqqiq-i-Sani's son, Abdul Aali bin Sheikh Ali Karaki[2] and his two grand sons (the sons of

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1. About Muhaqqi-i-Bahrain by Sheikh Yusuf bin Ahmad Albahrani (d. 1186 A.H./1772 A.D.) pp. 151-154 and *Fihrist-i-Madresa-i-Ali Shahid Mutahari* (the catalogue of Shahid Mutahari high School) Vol.I, pp.379-380.

2. For detailed information about the son of Muhaqqiq-i-Karaki, see : *Rauzat ul jennat,* by Mirza Muhammad baqir Khawansari, Ismailiyan, Qum, Ist edition, 1390 A.H., 1970 A.D., Vol.IV, p.199, onward.

Muhaqqiq-i-Sani's daughters) i.e., Saiyid Husain bin Saiyid Ziauddin Karaki Ameli[1] and Saiyid Husain bin Saiyid Haider Karaki Amuli[2] also proved renowned theologians and were appointed judges of Ardbil, Qazvin and the other cities of Persia by the Safavid kings.[3]

Shah Tehmasb, on the advice of Muhaqqiq-i-Karki invited another Syrian Scholar, A'ezddin Husain bin Abdul samad of Jabal-i-Amul (d. 984 A.H./1576 A.D.), the father of the renowned scholar Sheikh Bahuddin Amuli of Jabal-i-Amul. He came from Syria to Persia. He stayed for a short while at Isfahan. Later he was appointed Sheikh ul Islam (the leader of Islam). He served in this capacity in Qazvin, Khurasan and Herat. After serving for a short while in Persia, he sought permission of Shah Tahmasb to settle down at Bahrain. But, his son Bahauddin remained in Persia an the instruction of the king.

Muhammad bin Hasan bin Ali (d. 1014 A.H./1605 A.D.) commonly known as Sheikh-i-Horr-i-Amuli also migrated from Syria and settled down at Mash'had. There he wrote a book entitled ***Amal ul Amel,***[4] which deals with the Scholarly class of Jabal-i-Amel. After that many theologians, belonging to the family of Muhaqqiq-i-Sani and Sheikh Horr-i-Ameli also came to Persia along

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1. Ibid, vol.III, p.320 onward.

2. Ibid, vol.II, p.62.

3. One of the daughters of Muhaqqiq-i-Karaki was the mother of Mir Muhammad Baqar son of Shamsuddin-i-Damad. As Shamsuddin married the daughter of Muhaqqiq i Karaki, therefore he was entitled Damad (the son in law).

4. This book has been edited by Saiyid Ahmad Husain Ish Kavari, the appendix of which has been prepared by Mirza Abdullah Afandi, published by Kitab Khana-i-Ayatullah Najafi Marashi, Qum (Iran) in 1410 A.H. 1/2 1989 A.D.

with many other theologians, in search of livelihood and most of them settled down there.

Besides, many Shia theologians also kept migrating with their families from Bahrain and Iraq upto the downfall of the Safavid dynasty. They, after settling down there, busied themselves in religious studies and helped the great scholars in their compilation work. As we find in the case of Saiyid ni'matullah Jazayeri, who helped Mulla Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (the renowned religious Shia Scholar of Persia) in the compilation of his scholarly work, namely *Bihar ul Anwar* (the oceans of lights). He came to Persia with his brother. There, he stayed at Shiraz with other Scholars, like Saiyid Hashim Ihsai, Sheikh Jafar Bahrani and Sheikh Abdul Ali Al Huwaizi. He got lessons in theology from them and also acquired knowledge in Islamic philosophy from Mirza Ibrahim, son of Mulla Sadra of Shiraz. He then went to Isfahan and spent some time as student of religious studies. Finally he settled down at Shustar and became known as Shushtari. His son Saiyid Nur Uddin Ali and grand son Saiyid Abdullah also studied Shia theology, who are still considered the great narrators of the traditions (of prophet Muhammad) and shia jurists.

Apart from the above mentioned immigrant scholars, there was also a small group of theologians who were originally Persian. Most of them belonged to the Timurid period and had been taught rational sciences in a greater measure

than the traditional ones. Among them Ghays Uddin Dashtaki[1] (d.948 A.H./1541 A.D.), Shamsuddin Muhammad Khafri[2] (d.942 A.H./1535 A.D.), Musleh Uddin Muhammad Lari[3] (d.979 A.D./1971 A.D.) and Mulla Habib Ullah Shirazi, known as Mirza Jan-i-Bagh-i-Navi Shirazi[4] (d. 944 A.D./1537 A.D.) were more renowned than others. There was another group of those religious scholars who were originally Persian and their number was also larger than the above mentioned group. Though they got their religious training from non-Persian scholars, yet very soon they became so profound in their studies that some of them were appointed heads of religious institutions. There they trained the new generation of those Persian scholars who wanted to study Shia theology and jurisprudence. In this generation of scholars (who were Persian by race) who

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1. Further information about Ghayasuddin Mansur Dashtaki. See: *Ahsanut Tawarikh-i-Rumlu*, pp. 244, 303 and 304. *Taraiq ul Haqaiq*, Vol.III, pp.51 and 52. *Rauzat ul Jannat Fi Ahwal el ulama-i wal sadat*, Vol.VII, pp.176 onward. Tazkira-i-Shah Tahmasb, Berlin edition, p.17. *Asar-i-Ajam* by Fursat ud daula Shirazi, 2nd edition, Bombay 1354 A.H. (1935 A.D.), p.459 *Rayhanatul Adab*, Vol.IV, p.258. *Farsnama-i-Nasiri* by Haj Mirza Saiyid Hasan Shirazi, Vol.II, p.139 onward. *Tarikh-i-Nazm o-nasr dar Iran* by Said Nafisi, pp.375, 376. *Majalisul Muminin* by Qazi Nurullah Shustari, the chapter related to Hukama (the philosophers). Habib us Siyar, Vol.IV, p.604.

2. About Khafri, see: *Rauzatul Jannat*, Vol.VII, pp.194 and 197, *Tarikh-i-Nazm Wa Nasr dar Iran* by Said Nafisi, Tehran 1344 A.H. (1965 A.D.), p.385. *Taraigul Haqaiq*, Vol.III, p.57 *Habibus Siyar*, Vol.IV, p.611. *Majalis ul Mominin*, See: the chapter related to Hukama (the Philosophers).

3. Musleh uddin Of Lar (Shiraz) belonged to the Sunni sect and followed the school of Imam Shafaii. He lived in Hindustan during the reign of Humayun and Akbar. In the year 963 A.H. (1555 A.D.) he went to Mecca. After the performance of the holy pilgrimage he stayed at Istanb ul. After staying there for about four years he went to Amed city. As he was appointed the Mutawalli (Trustee) of the Madresa-i-Khusrau in the year 967 A.H. (1559 A.D.) he settled down there and died there in 979 A.H. (1571 A.D.).

4. Bagh-i-Navi pertaining to Bagh-i-Nou, a locality in Shiraz.

were trained by their Persian teachers, some of them won name and fame. Among them Sheikh Muhammad Taqi Majlisi and his son Mulla Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, Aqa Jamal Uddin Khansari and his son Aqa Husain[1] (d.1098 A.H./1636 A.D.) and his son Aqa Jamal[2] (d. 1125 A.H./1713 A.D.) are more renowned than others. Finally this class of scholars also produced many other generations of religious scholars.

The extraordinary attention that Safavid kings paid to the development of theological studies to stabilize their newly formed government caused the rapid expansion of traditional sciences. But, unluckily the same care was not taken in respect of rational sciences, like astronomy, astrology and medicines. In the environment, where the religious scholars of the Arab origin who migrated to Persia were the focus of attention, Persian literature, particularly its poetry was badly neglected. Besides the deterioration of rational sciences as well as Persian poetry was also caused on account of the Turkish language which the Safavid kings spoke.

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1. About Husain Khansari, see: *Rauzat ul Jannat*, Qum edition Vol.II, pp. 349 and 358. *Amal ul amul*. Baghdad edition, 1385 A.H., Vol.II, p.42. *Tazkira-i-Nasrabadi*, Tehran 1317 A.H. (1939 A.D.), pp.152 and 153 *Rayhanat ul Adab*, Vol.III, pp.487 and 488. *Riyazul Arefin*, Tehran, by Hidayat, Tehran 1316 A.H., p.136. *nataij ul Afkar*, by Muhammad Qudratullah Gupamu, Bombay, 1336 A.H. (1917 A.D.) pp.190 and 191. *Atash kada-i-Azar*, Tehran, 1337 A.H., pp.1048-1050

2. *Rauzat ul Jannat* Vol.II, pp.214-216.

Philosophy, was disliked by the Safavids[1] and the religious scholars[2] but it also developed as a branch of traditional sciences. The renowned philosophers of that age were Mir Damad and Mulla Sadra, who produced such eminent disciples that each of them established his independent school. Among them, one was Mullah Fathullah Shirazi, who brought to Hindustan the works of his contemporary philosophers like Dawwani, Mulla Sadra, Ghayas Uddin Dashtaki and Mirza jan-i-Bagh-i-Navi. He introduced the works of these master philosophers, as the text books for those students who wanted to specialize in philosophical studies.

PHILOSOPHY OF MULLA SADRA AND ITS INFLUENCE OVER THE SCHOOLS OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

The most renowned philosopher of the Safavid period was Sadruddin Muhammad son of Ibrahim Qawwami, entitled Sadrul Mutaallihin (the chief of the theologians) and commonly known as Mulla Sadra.[3] In philosophical studies, he was the student of Mir Muhammad Baqir Mir Shamsuddin Husaini

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1. The daughter of Shah Safi opened a school in Isfahan. In the will, that she left it was specifically mentioned that philosophy, rational sciences, the books like *Shafa, Isharat, Hikmat ul A'in, Sharh-i-Hidayah* and the others similar to them are strictly prohibited to be studied there. See : the introduction of historical text entitled *Jahanqusha-i Khaqan*, written by Akbar Subut, published by Markaz-i-Tahqiqat-i-Farsi-i-Iran O Pakistan. 1364 A.H. (1985 A.D.) p.8.

2. About him Sheikh Mohammad Baqir Khansari writes; "In several of the books compiled by him (i.e. Mulla sadra) there are several topics which do not conform to the spirit of Islamic principles (Shariat). They contain such terms, that have been coined by him. But, they do not prove that he was inclined to blasphemy. They have however misled some great theologians, who have declared him an infidel on the base of his works". See: *Rauzat ul Jannat*, Vol.IV, p.121.

3. About, further infomration about Mulla Sadra, See: *Amal ul Amel* by Sheikh Hurr-i-Ameli, Najaf edition, Vol.II, p.233, *Rauzat ul Jannat*, Qum editon, Vol.IV, pp.120-122, *Ayan ul Shia*, by Sayyid Muhsin Amin, Vol.V, p.99. *Alzaria*, by Sheikh Agha Buzurg Tehrani, Vol.II, p.232, *Taraiq ul Haqaiq*, Vol.I, pp.96-97., *Alkunna wal Alqab*, by Sheikh Abbas Qummi, Bidar Publication, Qum, Vol.II, p.410.

(d.1041 A.H./1631 A.D.) of Astarabad, known as Mir Damad.[1] Being a poet also, he had adopted "Ishraq" as his noma de plume. In traditional sciences he was the student of Sheikh Bahauddin Amuli. He compiled several valuable works, on the two above mentioned subjects that he had studied.[2]

Philosophy, as compared to religious studies was not considered a desirable subject in his time. In spite of opposition and objections raised against him and despite being charged even of blasphemy on the basis of his works - he made remarkable progress in his studies and produced many eminent students.

Among them the following three students proved outstanding :

1. Shamsuddin Muhammad Gilani, commonly called Shamisa,[3]
2. Fayyaz Lahiji (d. 1070 A.H./1659 A.D.)[4] and

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1. About further information about Mir Damad, See: *Amal ul Amel* Baghdad editon, Vol.II, p.249, *Salafat ul Asr* by Saiyid Ali Khan Madani, cairo edition 1334 A.H. (1915 A.D.), p.485, *Rauzat ul Jannat,* Vol.II, p.63, *Tarikh-i-Alam Ara-i-Abbasi,* Tehran, Amir Kabir publication, Vol.I, pp.146-147, *Riazul Shoara,* Tehran editon, 1316 A.H. (1937 A.D.) *Tazkirah-i-Nasr Abadi,* Tehran, 1317 A.H. (1938 A.D.), *Rayhanat ul Adab,* Vol.IV, pp. 117-121, *Atash Kada-i-Azar,* edited by Sadat-i-Nasiri, Tehran, 1338, pp. 934-935. *Majmaul Fusaha,* Reza Quli Khan Hidayat, Tehran, 1259 A.H., Ist edition, Vol.II, p.7.

2. Some of the works of Mullah Sadra are: *Al hikmat ul Mutaalia* known as *Alasfar ul Arbaa, Ittisaf ul Mahiyyat bilwajoud; Risala-i-tasawur-o-Tasdiq;* comentry on the parts of *Hidaya-i-Asiruddin Abhari; Alshawahid ul Ruboubyat; Alhikmat ul Arshia, Ittihad Ul A'qil Walma'qul.,* comments on *Ilahiyat-i-Shafa* and comments on Sharhi-i-Hikmat ul Ishraq by Qutbuddin Shirazi.

3. For further information about Mulla Shamisa, See : *Rauzat ul Janat,* Vol.III, p.350.

4. For Fayyaz Lahiji, See : *Amul ul Amel* by Sheikh Hurr-i-Ameli, Baghdad edition, Vol.II, p.148., Alzariya by Aga Buzurg Tehrani, Vol.XIV< p.238, *Baharistan-i-Shukhan* by Mir Abdul Razzaq Khawafi, Madras 1958, p.503, *Rahanatul Adab,* Vol.III, pp.233 and 235, *nataijul Afkar* by Muhammad Qudrat Ullah Gopamvi, (Indian), Bomaby, 1336 A.H./1957 A.D.) pp. 538-539, *Riazul Arefin* by Hidayat, Tehran, 1316 A.H. 1937 A.D.) p.391, *Rauzatul Jannat,* Vol.IV, pp.196-198, *Alkunna walalqab,* Vol.III, p.30. *Majmaul Fusaha* by Aliquli Hidayat, Vol.II, p.27.

3. Muhammad Mohsin son of Shah Murtaza son of Shah Mahmud Kashani, known as Mullah Mohsin Faiz Kashani (d.1091 A.H./1680 A.D.). Besides these three renowned students, there were many others who adopted the principles of his philosophy.[1]

Hakim Mulla Fath Ullah Shirazi, a follower of the School of Mulla Sadra Shirazi, came to the Deccan in response to the invitation of Ali Adil Shah the ruler of Bijapur princely state. But, after some time, on the advice of Khwaja Muhammad Dehdar (Fani Shirazi) he went to Hindustan and there joined at Agra the court of Akbar, the Mughal emperor.[2] Akbar, was very liberal in his religious views, but Fathullah Shirazi was very conservative in his Shiite views and strictly followed all its practices. But as he was very learned and profound in his studies, he was most respected at the court of the emperor. Philosopher, physician, astronomer, and astrologer he was appointed the personal advisor to the emperor, who entitled him *Amin ul Mulk* (the trustworthy of the empire) *Azududdaula,* (the upper arm of the state) *and Azud ul Mulk* (the uper arm of the country). The emperor also assigned him the office of *Sadr* (grand Vizier)

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1. For detailed information about Mullah Mohsin Kashani, See: Alamal ul Amel, Najaf edition, pp.305-306, *Tazkira-i-Roz-i-Roshan,* Tehran, 1343 A.H., pp.24-25, *Atash Kada-i-Azar,* Bombay edition, pp.245-246, *Majmaul Fusaha,* Vol.II, pp.25-26, *Riazul Arefin,* Tehran, 1316 A.H. (1937 A.D.), *Rayhanat ul Adab,* Vol.IV, p.369, *Tazkira-i-Nasrabadi,* Tehran, 1317 A.H. (1938 A.D.) and *Nataij ul Afkar,* Bombay, 1336 A.H. (1957 A.D.).

2. About him Badauni writes that so far as rational science was concerned he was profound in philosophy, geometry, astronomy, mathematics, talisman, necromancy and the use of crane machine. In the above mentioned branches of science and technology he was so dexterous that if the emperor would have paid attention to his plans, he could establish a well-equipped observatory. In traditonal sciences, he was also conversant with the sayings of the prophet Muhammad, commentary on *Quran* and Islamic law. He has written several books on various subjects. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* Vol.3, p.145.

and consulted him on the matters regarding war campaigns and the state affairs. His death, which took place in 997 A.H. (1588 A.D.) was such a sad event that it also grieved the emperor. Mourning his death, he exclaimed "If Hakim Fath Ullah had fallen a captive in the hands of the enemy and he demanded the whole revenue of the country and all the imperial treasure, as the amount of ransom, I would have certainly paid it and would have felt that I had benefited from that bargain".[1]

He wrote several books on Science and technology and also made a number of wonderful inventions. He prepared a water mill, which worked automatically. He made a mirror, which reflected strange figures from a distance. He also cast a cannon that threw balls, every time when fired.[2]

INTRODUCTION OF PERSIAN SCHOLARS' WORKS IN HINDUSTAN

Khatib Kazruni, Imad Tarumi, Saiyid Abul Fazl Astarabadi and Saiyid Rafi Uddin Safavi, who had been the students of Jalal Uddin Dawwani (d. 902

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1. Hakim Aboul Fath Gilani also passed away some time after his death. Sarfi Sawji has mentioned in a chronogram, the death of these two great men:

   Im sal do allama ze alam raftand
   Raftand, mo'akhkhar-o-moqaddam raftand,
   Ta har do mowafiqat nakardand beham
   Tarikh na shud ki, "Har do baham raftand." (997)

   (This year two learned men passed away from this world, The one passed away after the other.

   It is, therefore, the chronogram is "Har do baham raftand" (997 A.H.). For detail infomration See; *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.I, pp.234-235.

2. Abul Fazl has also mourned his death and writes: "The emperor who knows the worth of every one was also grieved at the sad demise of this philosophor. He repeatedly said that Fath ullah was physician, astronomer and my councillor, who can understand my grief. If he would have fallen in the hands of the people of Farang (the Europeans) and they demanded whole of my treasure as ransom, I got much gain in this bargain and considered that precious gem much cheaper at this price. *Akbar Nama*, Vol.2, pp.9-10 and Vol.3, pp.391/401/457/465/558.

A.H./1496 A.D.), came from Persia to Gujrat alongwith Fath Ullah Shirazi. After raching this province, first they went to Bijapur and then proceeded towards Agra. Here, they noticed that the works of their contemporary philosophers, like Dawwani Sadruddin Dashtaki, Ghayas Uddin mansur, son of Sadr uddin Dashtaki and Mulla Mirza Jan-i-Bagh-i-Navi Shirazi were taught in the centres of religious studies of Hindustan. The result was that philosophy with its allied subjects was now more popular than before in different parts of Hindustan and some persons gained great reputation as renowned Scholars of these subjects. Among them Sheikh Wajihuddin Gujrati, student of Imad Uddin excelled. He wrote commentaries on the works of those scholars of Persia which were taught since long in this country and the Indian scholars who used them as the source material for their study were indebted to him and considered themselves the indirect students of the above mentioned scholars. Sheikh Mubarak (the father of the two celebrated noble scholars i.e., Faizi and Abul Fazl at the court of Akbar) was the student of Khatib-i-Kazruni and Imad-i-Lari. Faizi was the student of Khawja Husain Marvazi, one of the descendants of Ala Uddaula Simnani. Abdul Salam Lahori was the student of Amir Fath ullah. Sheikh Muhammad Afzal son of Hamza-i-Jaunpuri (d.1062 A.H./1651 A.D.) originally belonged to Damavand. But, as his father was born at Mazandran, he was commonly called Mazandrani. He got his first lessons in philosophy from his father. After that he became one of the students of Hakim Ali Gilani and Hakim Fath Ullah Shirazi. Mahmud Jaunpuri (993-1062 A.H./1584-1651 A.D.), the greatest Scholar ever produced by Hindustan was the student of Sheikh Muhammad Afzal. Mahmud was one of the descendants of caliph Umar.

He had very close relations with Abul Hasan Asaf Khan (the son of Mirza Ghayas Uddin Tehrani) the commander-in-chief of the army of the Mughal emperor Shahjahan, his grand vizier and father-in-law. As a scholar of traditional sciences he was profound in philosophy logic, history, ornate prose writing and poetry. He (Mahmud) being always present in his company got lessons in traditional sciences, He was also a student of Mir Fandriski, the great philosopher of Persia, who had come to Hindustan and had friendly relations with Asaf Khan. He wrote commentaries on several books of the scholars of Persia. being a poet, he also composed poems in Persian. He differed in his views with many philosophers of Persia, particularly with Mir Damad Astarabadi. But, in spite of all that he had great regard and respect for them. He prepared many students, who in their turn taught traditional sciences to coming generations. Some biographers are of the opinion that he followed the Shiite sect.[1]

By the end of the 12th century A.D. (18th century A.D.) Qutb Uddin Suhalavi prepared a wide range curriculum for Islamic studies. It was carried out by his son Nizam Uddin, who laid much emphasis on rational sciences.

Qutbuddin Ansari was the direct descendant of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari (396-571 A.H./1005-1175 A.D.), the sage of 5th century/11th century A.D.) of the Islamic world, who in his turn was the descendant of Abu Ayyub Ansari, one of the companions of prophet Muhammad. Qutbuddin was an outstanding

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1. *Matla ul Anwar* by Murtuza Husain Sadrul Afazil, Khurasan Islamic research center Karachi, 1981 A.D., p.630, *Nuzhat ul Khawatin*, by Abdul Hay bin Fakhr uddin Hasani, Third edition, Hidarabad, 1410 A.H./1989 A.D., Vol.V, p.15-16, 369-70, *Tarikh-i-Adabyat dar Iran* by Zabih Ullah Safa, Tehran, 1364, A.H., Vol.V, pp.311-31 and *Tazkira-i-Ulama-i-Hind*, by Rahman Ali, Luknow, 1914 A.D, pp.4-174.

scholar of rational and traditional sciences and produced a number of such students who established many institutions of Islamic studies in different parts of the Indian sub-continent.

Under the curriculum, chalked out by Qutbuddin, commentaries were written on the books like *Sharh-i-Jalaluddin Dawwani Kazruni* on *Aqaid-i-Azduddin Eiji, Mutawwal* and *Sharh-i-Aqaid-i-Taftazani.* Though the pioneer of Islamic studies was Qutbuddin, but, as it was carried out by his son, Nizamuddin, therefore, it is still called *Dars-i-Nizamia* (The curriculum of Nizami), which is the widest programme of Islamic studies in the whole Asian countries for the students who follow the Sunnite sect.[1]

Qutbuddin, by his efforts produced such outstanding students that they carried out his mission so successfully that even today their pupils and disciples are teaching the same syllabus in different parts of the Indian Sub-continent. Besides, many descendants of Qutb uddin also followed in his footsteps and during the last three centuries, no family throughout the Indian sub-continent has produced so many learned men and scholars of Islamic studies as has this single family.[2] It is rightly said about this family that everyone here is wiser than the others. Qutbuddin was assassinated during the reign of Aurangzib Alamgir (1068-1118 A.H./1658-1707 A.D.) in the year 1113 A.H. (1701 A.D.). When the Moghal emperor came to know about this event, he gave to his survivers the palace called Farangi Mahal that belonged to the French traders. Here, Nizam

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1. Pertaining to Suhali, a town in Lucknow district, U.P. (India).

2. *Tazkira-i-ulama-i-Hind*, pp.167, 168 and 177, ***Nuzhat ul Khawatir,*** Vol.IV, pp.10, 18, 280, 343 and 344, *Rood-i-Kawsar*, by Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, Lahore, 1958 A.D, p.605.

uddin (son of Qutb uddin) established his school for religious studies, which later in Asia proved to be the largest religious institution of Islamic studies for the students of the sunnite sect. The curriculum prepared by Nizam uddin was officially recognized in all the Asian countries. At present, most of the scholars of Islamic studies are, directly or indirectly, indebted to this institution and pay their homage to its founder by calling him the leader of the religious scholars, the pioneer of Islamic studies, the master of knowledge and the source spring for spreading rational and traditional sciences.[1] They also remember his son, Nizam uddin with the same reverence and prefix Imam ul Hind (the leader of all the religious scholars of India) to his name.[2]

Nizamuddin died in 1161 A.H./1747 A.D. and was followed by his successors: Abdul Ali, his son Muhammad Hasan, the grand son of his brother Kamal uddin Suhalavi, his cousin and Hamdullah Sandelvi. These learned men also added to the name, fame and glory of the said institution. Some of them migrated to other parts of the country, where they established the branches of it for Islamic studies. During the last few years the teachers of these institutions have also modified their courses of study to adapt to the exigencies of the present age.

Here, this is also worth mentioning that Nizam uddin, the founder of Religious institute of Farangi Mahal was originally Persian. He also made critical study of the works of those theologians who belonged to Persia and

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1. Ibid, ***Maqalat-i-Shibli*** by Shibli Numani, Vol.4, Azamgarh, 1937 A.D., Vol.3, p.93.

2. *Nuzhat ul Khawatir* Vol.VI, p.383 and *Bani-i-Dars-i- Nizami* by Muuhammad Reza Ansari Farangi Mahalli, p.42, Cited from - Akbar Subuout, *Hauza-i-Farangi Mahal,* Keyhan Andisha, No.58, Qum, 1373 A.H., p.114, Ibid, p.117.

added further explanatory notes to the literary works of these scholars. He wrote commentaries on *Sharhul Hedaya* of Mulla Sadra, *Sharh-i-Aqayid-i-Dawani*, ***Hashia-i-Qadim-i-Dawwani*** on ***Sharh-i-Qushchi*** and on ***Tahrir-i-Khawja Tusi*** . He also wrote a treatise in Persian in which he mentioned the excellent qualities of his spiritual guide.[1]

He used Persian for his private letters, the replies of the questions asked about religious matters and issuing decrees concerning the jurisprudential problems. At present, all of his writings have the value of authentic documents giving information about historical events and religious trends of his age.[2]

Besides, the lineage of his discipleship, in the field of philosophy reaches the great thinkers of Persia, as he was the student of Qutbuddin Shamsabadi (d.1121 A.H./1709 A.D.) and Hafiz Aman ullah Banarsi (1122/1710 A.D.) The latter wrote marginal and explanatory notes on Tafsir-i-Baizavi, Aqaid-i-eji, Sharh-i-Muwaqif, Sharh-i-Aqaid-i-Dawwani and Hashiya-i-Qadim-i-Dawwani. In addition to that he wrote a book of the universe in which he compared the views of Mir Damad Astarabadi, the great philosopher of Persia and Mahmud Jaunpuri, the Indian thinker of Islamic philosophy.[3]

Shamsabadi and Banarsi were the pupils of Qutb uddin Suhalvi, who in his mystic views followed the principles of Chishti order, the founder of which

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1. *Nuzhat ul Khawatir*, Vol.VI, p.385.

2. The *founder of Dars-i-Nizami*, pp.95-186, Quoted from the Article : Farangi Mahal, by Akbar Subout, p.117.

3. *Ulama-i-Hind*, p.241., Abdul Hay, *Nuzhat ul Khawatir*, Vol.Vi, p.41. Nizam Uddin was also student of Ghulam Naqsh Bandi of Lucknow, whose grandfather had come from Isfahan, Persia, to Hindustan. Ibid, pp.214 and 384.

was Khwaja Muin uddin Chishti of Sistan, Persia.[1] Qutbuddin was a disciple of his father, Abdul Halim and Mulla Danyal Chorasi. The latter rendered great service to Islamic studies and many scholars benefited, from his discourses.[2] Abdul Halim and Chorasi were the disciples of Mufti Abdul Salam Daivi (d. sometime after 1047 A.H./1637 A.D.), who wrote explanatory and marginal notes on Sharh-i-Aqaid-i-Taftazani, Tafsir-i-Baizavi, H. Aashiya-i-Khiyali bar Sharh-i-Aqaid-i-Taftazani and a commentary on Tahzib ul Manteq.[3]

Daivi was the student of Mufti Abdul Salam Lahori (d. 1037 A.H./1627 A.H.) who also wrote marginal and explanatory notes on Tafsir-i-Baizavi, Lahori was the disciple of Hakim Saiyid Fath ullah Shirazi.[4] Fathullah Shirazi was the disciple of Khwaja Jamal uddin Shirazi and Ghayas uddin Mansur Shirazi.[5] The latter was the greatest thinker of Persia in Tenth century (17th century A.D.) of the Islamic era.[6] Mahmud Shirazi was the pupil of Jalal uddin Dawwani, the greatest thinker of Persia during the 9th century (16th century A.D.) of the Islamic era. Ghayasuddin Mansur was the disciple of his father.[7] Saiyid Sadruddin Dashtaki, one of the two great philosopher of Persia during the 9th century (16th century of Islamic era).[8]

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1. Rahman Ali, Ibid, *Ulama-i Hind,* p.169.
2. Choras is a town in the vicinity of Lucknow.
3. *Nuzhat ul Khawatir* Vol.V/147., *Ulama-i-Farangi Mahal* by Enayat ullah Ansari Farangi Mahali, p.44.
4. Abdul Hay, Ibid, Vol.5, pp.228-229.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid Vol.IV, p.224.
7. *Tabaqat-i-Alam-i-Shia* by Shaikh Aqa Buzurg-i-Tehrani, tenth century, p.240.
8. *Tarikh-i-Adabyat dar Iran,* by Dr. Zabih ullah Safa, Vol.V, p.400.

Dawwani was the disciple of his father, Sad Uddin, Muhi uddin Kashkenari and Khwaja Hasan Shah known as Baqqal. All the above mentioned persons and Qavam uddin Karbali (the instructor of Dawwani and Dashtaki) were the students of Sharif Jurjani.[1] Jurjani was the student of Mubarak Shah, who was the pupil of Qutbuddin Razi. He was the student of Allama Hulli.[2] He was the student of Katibi, Shams uddin Kishi and Khwaja Tusi. Finally all the above mentioned scholars, generations after generations, were the disciples of Ibn-i-Sina.[3]

Though the works of profound scholars of traditional sciences were selected to teach the students of Islamic studies, yet these works could not develop the mental capacities of most of the students and make their living conditions better. The Scholars who wrote explanatory notes and commentaries on the text books, kept them confined to the environs in which the authors lived. These commentators never thought of the age they were living in and the changes that were being made in the subject with which they were concerned. They remained ignorant of the revolution that was taking place in rational sciences and cultural activities all over the world. Their maximum approach was upto Ibn-i-SIna, Sheikh-i-Ishraq, Mir damad, Fakhr-i-Razi and Mulla Sadra.[4] But, the researches that had been done on the works of the above mentioned

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1. *Riaz ul Arefin* by Reza Quli Khan Hidayat, p.319.

2. *Khadamat-i-Motaqabel-i-Islam-o-Iran* by Murtaza Motahari & p.577.

3. *Ansari, Ulama-i-farangi Mahal*, p.44. (Apparently this Shamsuddin was the son of Mubarak Shah, known as Mirak Bugharayi, the commentator of Kalemat ul Ain.

4. *Ahwal-o-Asar-i-Khwaja Tusi*, by Mudarris-i-Rizavi, p.136.

philosophers all over the world, were still beyond the reach of the students as well as their teachers, who were regarded as the highly learned and profound in the subject that they taught.[1]

Religious atmosphere of Persian during Safavid period

(a) **Role of Safavid rulers**:

The Safavids belonged to the saintly class which was known as mystic rather than members of the Shiite community. The common people, in view of their behavior and mode of living, looked upon them with reverence. Among them Qizilbashids were closer than the others and they were associated with each other as the spiritual guide and the disciples. In the sphere of mysticism, they had more material means and greater manpower at their disposal than the mystics of other orders. Hence their impact on the history of Persia was more indelible than that of the other orders. But, culturally the chiefs of the Safavid order were weaker than the spiritual guides of Sarbedaran, Hurufian, Nurbakhshiyan and the other orders alike. It is for this reason that in the Safavid order, we hardly find any saint who was as Self-sacrificing as were Shaykh Hasan Juri, Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh and Saiyid Fazlullah Naimi Astrabadi. Though they were not distinguished in spirituality, morality and scholarship, yet they were anxiously desirous of attaining chieftainship of their family, therefore they occupied such position for which they were not worthy with the result that social corruption set in and their devotees, were demoralised.

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1. *Bani-i-Dars-i-Nizami*, p.260

The Safavids did not derive the sense of the term "Shiism" from any scholastic philosophy or any branch of Islamic jurisprudence. They gave it their own interpretation having been inspired by some sufi orders and that group of the devotees of Ali (the cousin of prophet Muhammad and the first Imam, according to the Muslims of Shiite sect) who were called Ghulat and considered him the Deity, out of their extreme devotion. These Sufis and Ghulat were not much different from those followers of Ali who lived in Syria and Asia Minor. It was for this reason that when the safavids started to propagate Shiism, particularly at the early stage, they boasted much of being Shiah without knowing its fundamental principles and the exigency of it in that period.

But, at the later stage, when the Safavid invited the Shiite clergy class as their associates in the affairs of the state while the jurists also showed their interest in it, there was no way for the safavids to get rid of the fanatic members of the Sufis of different orders and Ghulat as their irrational intervention was a great obstacle in the way of the smooth functioning of the administrative machinery. Even then, Shiism was nothing but a series of formalities which were performed by the state dignitaries.

In the account of Shah Ismail, we have already read that he claimed to be the successor of Mahdi, the twelfth Imam, who had gifted him a sword, the head-gear and the belt with the instruction to revolt against the oppressors. He also paid an amount of seventy thousand gold coins annually to Sheikh Ali Karki, to distribute it among the deserving students of religious studies. Once, in a war campaign he ordered general massacre, in which about fifteen thousand people, young and old, were killed. This holocaust forced some Saiyids (the

descendants of Ali) to take refuge in a mosque with their Kith and kin. They sent their message to the king, requesting him to feel pity on the descendants of Ali to which his minister replied: "When the war seekers of a particular region are captured there is no distinction between a young man or an old person, guilty or guiltless. There is also no discrimination between a Saiyid and a non-Saiyid, a Sunni or a Shiite".[1]

Then he ordered to open the gate of the mosque and killed all the Saiyids. Their belongings were distributed among the "Ghazis". He was the same minister, who after capturing Qarshi fort, ordered that even the cats and dogs of it should not be left alive. He was highly pleased when he levelled the fort to the ground, and in the acts of cruelty he did what had already been done by Chingiz Khan and Timur.

During the reign of Shah Tahmasb, many theologians meddled with the state affairs by proclaiming themselves the deputy of Imam Mahdi, the twelfth Imam. The king also thought of himself as the "deputy" or "Vice Imam" and was brought to the throne by that *Wali-i-Faqih* (the protector of Islamic jurisprudence - title used for the deputy of Imam Mahdi by the Muslims of the Shiah community). Together with all these proclamations, he also became cynical. He often spent, most of his time in Hamman (hot bath) and washed himself considering that many things which were in his surrounding were unholy. He had declared that opposition to the jurist class was as condemnable as polytheism is in Islam". He was also sending big amounts in cash to the Saiyid families of the cities of Qum, Mashhad, Sabzawar, Qazwin and Astarabad

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1. Allama Majlisi has claimed in his treatise that Mohaqqiq Karki was the main figure who instigated Shah Ismail to eliminate the Sufis. For further detail, see: *Resala-i-Javabia-i-Muhammad Baqir Dar Tasawwuf*". Mss. copy of (pre-Islamic revolution of Iran) Senate collection, No.485. (Cat. Vol.I, p.284.

with the instruction that the said amount should be spent on the celebration of the birth anniversaries of all the fourteen members of the holy family prophet Muhammad, his daughter Fatimah and the twelve Imams). He was so strict in the observance of the principle of righteousness, lawfulness, kindness and abstinence that if he came to know that someone was playing on any musical instrument he was punished by cutting his hands.

Shah Abbas, likewise, had instructed his secretary to write "the slave of Ali", instead of his name.[1] Besides, he called himself "the dog at the threshold of Ali".[2] Once he went on foot from Isfahan to Mashhad to pay his homage to Imam Musa Raza and traversed the distance of two hundred Farsakh (twelve hundred kilo meters) in twenty eight days. When he was paying his homage there, he took the pairs of scissors to trim the wick of a candle stick.[3] Sometimes he also did such pious deeds (in the frame work of Islamic law) as

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1. Ghayas uddin Khand Mir, *Habib us Siyar* p.476, Hasan Romlu, *Ahsan ut Tawarikh*, p.75., Iskandar Beg, *Tarikh-i-Alam Aroei-Abbasi*, p.30. The compiler of *Jahankusha-i-Khaqan* writes on page 198, "Qizilbashids, on the instructon of Shah Ismail, made such a general massacre that there was not even a single inhabitant alive in that enclosure".

2. Shah Tahmasb, while addressing Muhaqqiq-i-karki, wrote in a letter, "You are more deserving than me, to manage the affairs of the State, because you are the deputy of Imam Mahdi. This would have been a matter of pleasure for me to carry out your order and act upon the instruction you gave me".
See : Rauzat ul Jannat, Vol.14, p.361, pp.

3. For detailed information about the *Dastur ul A'mal* (the instructions to be carried out) of Shah Tahmasb, read *A'lam Ara-i-Abbasi*, Vol.I, pp.122-123. Tehran edition. Jalaluddin Yazdi, the compiler of *Tarikh-i-Abbasi*, writes that the king built a *Takya* (a place specific for religious purpose, particularly for mourning the martyrdom of holy Imams) in the year 1011 A.H./1602 A.D., the chornogram of which he mentioned in the following:

Kulba-i ra ki man shudam bani
matlab am Takya-i-Sagan-i-A list
Khana-i-Dil Kusha" Shudash tarikh
chun ki az kalb-i-Aastan-i-A list.

(he cottage which I have built, is a hermitage for the devotees of Ali.
I got this bounty from God, because I am devotee of Ali since the day of the creation of the universe. Its chornogram is Khana-i-Dil Kusha (a heart pleasing house), because it is for those devotees who rest on the threshold of the Shrine of Ali.)

made his contemporary philosopher and jurists, Mir Damad write that he sat with him for very long time and so long as he had been in his company, he spent most of the time in prayers. Before offering prayers and sitting with devotion, he usually took bath. During the days he was observing fast, he used to sit with him upto the midnight, after breaking the fast. He also discoursed on religious matters with other theologians and learned men.[1] Apart from the two preceding examples, many others can also be cited. But in spite of all that, what we find lacking in this period of history is the implementation of religious laws, particularly those related to individual, social, economic and moral rights of human beings. It is clearly evident from the history of the whole Safavid period, that the rulers of this dynasty did not observe Islamic rules and regulation so far as their administration of the country and territorial expansion was concerned.

On the contrary, we are shocked to find that in torturing their opponents they were worse than beasts. Cutting any of their limb or limbs, throwing them into boiling oil, filling their garment with gun powder for blowing them up, making them blind, keeping them immersed in moist lime, pouring melting lead in their throats, transfixing their bodies, peeling off the skin of the living persons, filling their skin with husk, hanging them and throwing them before man-eating dogs were some minor punishments that they meted out to those whom they disliked. Worse than that was that the executioners of the Safavids were permitted to cut the limbs of a living enemy and eat his flesh in their presence.

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1. *Qasas ul Khaqani*, manuscript copy of Kitab Khana-i-Milli (National Library) of Tehran. Fol.125. *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi*, p.398.

All these brutal activities were going on in the name of promoting the shiite sect and the creed followed by the holy family and to satisfy their animal instinct and attain power by using fair means or ful.[1]

(b) **Sectarian differences during Safavid Period**:

The problems that confronted the Safavids, regarding the religion, were the sharp differences based on sectarianism, which played havoc to the Muslims all over Persia and Asia Minor. These differences caused the Muslims of the Sunnite and the Shiite sects to waste their military might and political efficiency. This state of affairs afforded on opportunity to Western explorers to penetrate in the East so that they might put their colonial designs into action. The colonialists fanned the flame of these differences in their commercial interest and created such situation that differences between the two sects (Shiites and Sunnis) were further aggravated as a resulted of which they wasted their physical as well as mental energies and capacities. The religious scholars, too at the courts of the Ottomans and the Safavids took the advantage of the historical back ground and brought into lime light, those bitter incidents that had taken place among the four Orthodox Caliphs of Islam. Though, both the dynasties have gone in oblivion, but they have left behind a legacy of such intricate problems that even today the whole Islamic world is torn asunder.

At the same time books were also written to vitiate the atmosphere. The writers of each sect tried their best to condemn the creed and conduct of the

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1. *Tarikh-i-Inqilab ul Islam*, Ms. Copy of Kitab Khana-i-Milli-i-Tehran, Fol.599. *Ahsan ut Tawarikh* by Rumlu, pp.75-80. For further information regarding such brutal activities, see: *Tarikh-i-Gilan* by Abdul Fattah Fumani, published at Rasht (Iran) in 1314-15 A.H. (1935-36 A.D.)

opposite sect. The continuous wars based on sectarian conflicts, weakened both the powers so much that Nadir Shah Afshar (1145-1160 A.H./1732-1747 A.D.) crushed the Safavids and confined the Ottomans to their territory. He tried to solve this problem by introducing the code of conduct (called *Figh-i-Jafari*) which was framed by Imam Jafar Sadiq, the sixth descendant of Ali, the Caliph. But, this was not acceptable to the Muslims who lived in the Ottoman empire, because this had already been adopted by the Muslims of the Shieite sect.

These differences, coupled with animosity reached such a pass that even one could not utter a single world to patch them up. Mir Imad Husaini of Qazvin, the master calligrapher of Nastaliq style, Once exclaimed that it would have been better that the differences be settled down between the rulers of the two countries. But, this wish became a crime and he was killed brutally. After this tragic incident his son had no alternative except disappearing from the scene.

These differences were not only confined to the Muslims of the Shiite and the Sunnite sects, but they also transmitted their venom to the ruling class and the Sufis of the Safavid order. The situation further worsened to the extent that the clergy class too succumbed to it and was divided into two groups-one-supporting the ruling class and the other opposing it. Some incidents of this nature are given below:

Conflicts between the ruling class and the Sufis:

The Safavids gained political power with the help of Qazilbashids and Sufis, devotees of Sheikh Safi and his descendants. The sufis had supported them in the expectation that the Safavids would establish such a government that would function according to Islamic law. As the Safavids did not know much

about the tenets of Islam, it was thought wise in order to run the government on Islamic principles that the help of those Shiah jurists should be sought who lived outside the territory of Safavid rule. For this purpose the scholars of Islamic jurisprudence, living in Syria and Jabal-i-Amel were sought out. After that many jurists appeared on the scene. Among them Muhaqqiq Karaki was the most renowned. The clergy very soon gained politico-religious power and the office of *Sheikh ul Islam* (the leader of Muslims) was created for them. When the clergy was given recognition by the state, they became so powerful that the Sufis lost their significance.

This conflict did not only rage between the Sufis and jurists but it also affected the Shiah scholars of religious sciences. Some of them had great attachment to particular sufi order or orders and claimed that they did not only theoretically agree to mystic philosophy but practically followed and lived according to its doctrines, whereas others refuted them.

The scholars who were under the influence of mysticism shared common views with the mystics. There were also some who did not strictly follow its principles but only posed themselves to be so by using mystic expressions and terms. In this situation they repeatedly used mystic expressions and terms to impress the common people. They usually associated themselves with the renowned mystic philosophers, Mansur Hallaj, Abu Hamid Ghazali and Muhiuddin Arabi and the like. The scholars who were against the mystics spoke much against them and criticized them publicly. This conflict created great confusion among the common people about religious thoughts and mystic ideas sometimes quite absurd.

The author of *Al Arba'in fi matae'n el Mutasawefin* analysing the conduct of the mystics writes how the religious scholars had yielded to the influence of the mystics:

In the beginning, when the sufis came in contact with the Imamis (the Muslims of shiite sect) with their mystic idiosyniracies they maintained the type of distance which is between the skin and the kernel. Some of them (i.e. Imamis) were inclined to the kernel of their discourses and extracted some good portion of it by removing the skin. The contents (i.e., the kernel (which had been chosen had the spirit of the sayings of the prophets, the preceptors, the doctors of religion and their followers. They interspersed their writings with their sayings in order to win admiration and recognition of the people as these sayings were very similar to the words uttered by Ali, the leader of the pious ones, and the other saintly persons.[1] Then, they gradually started to interpret these saying so as to suit their interest. There were also persons who selected some of these sayings and acted upon them to obtain enlightenment. The main purpose was to follow the path of Islamic law and lead a virtuous life. In short, everyone who noticed the life of the grand father, the second martyr paid much heed to it. Again, there was a class of religious scholars, who belonged to the Haqqa order. Whatever they narrated, was listened to carefully by their

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1. The book *Al Arba'in Fi mataen el Mutasawifin* was written in two volumes, but at present the first volume of its manuscript is available in which the conduct of Sufis has been condemned. The author of the book is anonymous but seems to be one of the students of Allama Majlisi and one of the descendants of Shahid-i-Sani (Zain ud din, bin Ali, bin Ahmad, bin Mohammad, bin Jamal Uddin, bin Taqi udding, bin Saleh (911-965 A.H./1505/1557 A.D.). he was one of the renowned jurists of the Shiah sect. (martyred in 965 A.H./1557). This quotation has been extracted from folio VIII. quoted flome the book : *Din-o-Siyasat Dar Dawra-i-Safavi,* (Religione and politics in Safavi period), by Rasoul Jafarian, Ansarian Publication, Qum, 1370 A.H., pp.232-233.

followers. But, sometimes their sermons were so obscure that it was hard for the audience to make out and there came a time when people became disgusted with the Islamic code of conduct and its practices. They ultimately associated themselves with any Sufi order.[1]

From this critical analysis it is clearly evident that the religious Scholars were quite against the Sufis. The sayings of Sufis, though had been listened to at the preliminary stage with the intention of following the Islamic tenets yet, ultimately the people started to note them. The main reasons of which was that the conservative group of religious doctors was against those Shiite religious scholars who were inclined, in their writings or speech to the philosophy of Ghazali and Muhiuddin Arabi, the two great sages of the Islamic world.

In this historical back ground when we survey the measures that were taken by the religious doctors against the sufis, we come across the first conflict. But, the appearance of that class of religious scholars who were inclined towards mysticism, formed the genesis of the second conflict, which was in fact a conflict between the conservative and the liberal religious scholars.

When Mullah Muhammad Tahir Qummi (d. 1098 A.H./1686 A.D.) took a stand against the sufis, he did not differentiate much between the persons who were merely called sufis and Faiz-i-Kashani, and the persons of his category. In his time, though Philosophy and mysticism were considered two branches of knowledge but from his point of view they were interdependent in the works of Faiz-i-Kashani and he had paid equal attention to both subjects.

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1. The followers of the Truth.

It should also be pointed out here that there has been a regular interconnection between mysticism and shiism, which requires a thorough investigation. The scholars who have worked on this subject have formed different views, because of the difference in their approach.

Asceticism, as a principle, is widely acclaimed in Shiism, because the concept of vilayat (Ali's successorship, as a member of the family of prophet Muhammad) is of great significance among the Muslims of the Shiite sect. Furthermore, as the ideas of Ghulitis (a sect of Muslims, who were most devoted to Ali, and considered him a deity) had also penetrated in Shiism, they prepared a ground for mysticism to adjust itself to the shiite ideology. But, this concept remained only a theory among the Muslims of the Ghulat sect, Ismailis (Ismailis) and the other sub-sects, derived from them, took this concept as the part of their religious belief.

This is also a recognised fact that most of the Sufis, who also introduced some new order, have been the follower of the sunnite sect. But, in the ninth century of the Islamic era (fifteenth century of the Christian ear) we find some persons who tried to amalgamate shiism with mysticism. Among them Saiyid Haidar Amuli (d. 978 A.H./1473 A.D.) was most renowned.

The facts given above confirm the truth of the view that, though most of the Sufis belonged to the sunnite sect and their different orders also developed in the environment where there was majority of sunnites, yet, as the advocates of all their sufi orders, still associate themselves in one way or the other, with Ali (except Jalal uddin Rumi, who associated him self with Abu Bakr, the first caliph). This provided a common ground for the Muslims of the Shiite and the

Sunnite sects i.e. the devotion to Ali. This was the main reason that mysticism penetrated into shiism during the Safavid period. But in spite of that the shiism were not consciously ready to accept mysticsm. This happened with one of the religious scholars of the Shiite sect. during the reign of Shah Ismail. As, he was much inclined to mysticism, he was charged to be sunni.[1]

This is an admitted fact that the renowned Muslims sages belonging to the Sunnite sect have been the pioneers of mystic thoughts, but as they have more reverence for Ali, than any other caliph of Islam, it provided at least a meeting-ground for the Sunnis and Shias to come closer. In the light of this phenomenon, the possibility of adjustment between shiism and mysticism, was not a far cry and this was ultimately put into effect. This measures was followed by the popularity of mysticism among the Shias and, as a result, a book was written on this subject, in which it was declared that a sufi cannot be other than a shiism. Shah Ismail was also convinced and declared that sufism was acceptable to him in case the enemies of Ali were cursed and reverence shown to his descendants.[2]

Any how, it was first political measure that was taken by the Safavid to bring about a compromise between mysticism and Sunnism, but this did not last long. Because, when the religious scholars of the Shiite sect came in power they did not honour the compromise formula arrived at earlier between Shiism and mysticism. This adjustment, though short-lived, with all of its theoretical

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1. *Rauzat ul Jannat*, Vol.IV, pp.319 320.

2. *Tahqiq dar Tasawwuf*, a treatise on mysticism, manuscript copy of Kitab Khana-i-Milli (Tehran) See: Fihrest-i-Kitab Khana-i-Milli (The catalogue of National Library), Vol.VI, p.644.

possibilities, produced a new generation of religious scholars whose approach was like that of Faiz-i-Kashani (d. 1091 A.H./1680 A.D.). This generation, equipped with philosophy, shiism, and mysticism, gave form to a particular concept. This set of scholars was naturally, in confrontation with that small group which was actively against the Sufis and considered them as their part and parcel.[1]

These differences that had developed, somehow the other, between the sufis and the Safavids, were forced by their own followers and the various groups of religious scholars. They compelled a large number of people, to migrate to some other part of the world, particularly towards Hindustan. Because, this land had already played host to mystics, saints and sages in the past. Among them Ali bin-i-Usman Hajveri, Khwaja Muin Udding Chishti, the founder of the Chisti order and Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani, the spiritual guide of the Saiyid of Hamadan city are worth mentioning here.[2] Besides, the sufis of the Suhrawardi order also took refuge here. Some of the renowned ones included Sheikh Jalal uddin Tabrizi, Qazi Hamid Nagori, Saiyid Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznavi, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakarya, Maulana Majd Uddin Haji and Sheikh Zia uddin Ruhi.[3]

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1. *Alam Ara-i-Safavi*, p.560.

2. For detailed information, see: *Dunbala-i-tasawwuf dar Iran* (search of mysticism in Iran), p.230.

3. For further information, see: *Voyages de chardin*, translated into Persian by Muhammad Abbasi, published by Amir Kabir in 1335 A.H./1956 A.D., Vol.II, pp. 277, 278, 292, 293, 294, and Vol.VII, pp.145.

CHAPTER VI

The causes of migration of Persians to Hindustan during the reign of Akbar

(963-1014 A.H./1555-1605 A.D.

As mentioned earlier, there are two main factors that play an important role in the migration of the people. The first is the prevalent miserable social and individual state of affairs which threatens a person and thus forces, him to find another abode. This had been called the repulsive factor. The second is the favourable circumstances in the region where an immigrant settles down. This has been named as the attractive or absorbing factor.

The repulsive factors, operating in Persia during the Safavid period, have already been mentioned. Here, the attractive or absorbing factors, operating in Hindustan, during the reign of Akbar will be referred to in detail. Hindustan, since pre-historic days, has been the host of immigrants of different nations.

Much before the migration of the first branch of Aryans from their homeland this region had become destined abode of several other nations. Among them were the invaders from its North - West frontiers and also some peace-loving people, who came to its coastal area to take refuge. Among the invaders were, Huns, Seythiyans, Greeks, Turks and Mongols etc, while Zoarastarians and Jews migrated from their home-lands in search of a peaceful life. But all of them after settling down were absorbed by its regional cultures, giving the liberty to maintain their own identity.[1]

In the inscriptions dating back to the Achaemenian period the holy scriptures of Zoroastrians, historical records of the Sassanid kings and several

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1. For further detail see: *Mahajiran-i-Turan Zamin* (The immigrants of the land of Turan), by Nadir Bayat. Introduction by Muhammad Javad Mashkur. Published by Iran Shahr, first edition, 1370 A.H. (1991 A.D.) and *Muhajirat-i-tarikhi-i-Iranian be Hend* (Historical migration of Iranians to Hindustan) by Dr. Farhang Irshad, Muas-sesa-i-Mutaleat-o Tahqiqat-i-Farhangi (The institute for cultural studies and research), 1365 A.H. (1982 A.D.).

legends of pre-Islamic days we find many references to Hindustan with different name. Barzouya, the minister of the Sassanid king Anushirwan, the just, came to this soil and carried with him the tales called the *Panj Tantra,* which he translated into Pahlavi. In the Persian literature produced in the post Islamic period, much has been said in praise of this country. Firdausi, in his celebrated epic, ***Shah nama*** and Albiruni in *Mal il Hind* have highly spoken of this region.[1]

Not only for invaders and for those who sought refuge but for poets also this land has been the focus of attraction. Abu Nasr Ali bin Ahmad, generally called Asadi Tusi was the poet who lived during the fifth century of the Islamic era (11th century of Christian era). In his epic, entitled ***Garshasb Nama,*** [2] he has described that Garshasb, the legendary champion of war, came to Hindustan with his associates and sought the help of the king of this country.

Shegefti badin san bi andazah bud

Agar mivah, gar nau gul-i-tazah bud

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1. Ferdausi says :

Man imruz dar daftar-i-Hinduan
Hami bengaridam be roshan rawan

(To day I saw in the scriptures of the Hindus, with my enlightened soul)

chunin bud nabishta ki dar kuh-i-Hind
Gaya hist chini chu Rumi parind

(It has been written in that, that there is a chinese shrub, like Roman silk)

chub bar murdah be para kuni biguman
Sukhan gui gardad ham andar zaman

when you will sprinkle it on a dead person, certainly he would start speaking immediately.

See: *Shahnama, matna-i-inteqadi* (a critically edited text), Vol.VIII, edited by Ain Azar, 1970 A.D. p.248.

2. *Garshasb Nama,* edited by Habib ullah Yaghmaii, second edition, 1354 A.H. (1975 A.D.), p.157.

Shudah Khira dil, pahlvan-i-zamin

Hami khand bar bum-i-Hind afarin

Hami guft har chiz-i-giti fazai

Badin Hinduan dad guyi khudai

Na chandin shegeft ast jaai digar

Na zin san hawai khush o bum bar

(whether it was a fruit or a fresh flower, but it gave them boundless amazement.

By seeing them the heart of the champion of the earth was so amazed that he praised the country of Hindustan. He repeatedly said that every world-adoring thing, God, has bestowed on the Hindus. Neither any other land has so many wonders, nor its climate is so pleasant and the land so fertile).

Prosperity, fertility and abundance of wealth were other charms that fascinated many invaders and traders. In the history of ancient India and medieval period many references have been made to this fact. During the Achaemenian period, Punjab was declared the twenty first province of the empire. The revenues that were annually collected from there were one third of the whole income of that empire. This evidently shows that this country had so much wealth that it attracted the achaemenians from their home land.[1]

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1. *Sair-i-Tammudan-i-Iran,* Persian translation by Parviz Marzban, 1337 A.H. (91958), Paiwand hay-i-Tammaduno Farhang-i-Sukhan (periodical) Vol.XV, issue 10, year 1343 A.H./1964 A.D., p.5, *Tarikh-i-Tammadun* (History of civilization), Mashriq Zamin Gehwarah-i-Tammadun (The East, the cradle of civilization), *Hind Wa Hamsaya Ganash* (Indian and its neighbouring countries), Vol.I, part II, translation by Mehr dad Mehrin, Tehran, 1343 A.H./1964 A.D., p.637., *Safarnama-i-Marcopolo,* Persian translation by Habib Ullah Fasihi, 1350 A.H./1971 A.D., pp. 261, 286, *Naqdi - bar ibn-i-Bat-tuta,* Persian translation by Muhammad Taqi Zadah, 1355 A.H./1975 A.D. p.54.

Regarding this fact, Abdul Razzaq Khawfi Aurangabadi writes:

> "The means of sensual pleasure, which are mainly within the reach of the strangers are more available in Hindustan".[1]

Ahamad Amin-i Razi writes :

> "It should not be known that Hindustan is a country of extreme length and breadth. It has so many such good qualities in it that they are not found in any other country. This has been narrated by Adbullah ibn-i-Salam that the mirth has been created with ten parts in it. Nine of it have been bestowed on Hindustan and the one has been given to the rest of the world. One of its goodness is that a traveller does not need to carry provisions with him. Because, at every halt there is food stuff, fodder, quadrupeds and place of rest. The continuity of journey does not break, Particularly in winter (season), because (in that season) going back and forth of the people, due to extremely pleasant season and moderate climate is more (than the other seasons)........ The other (good quality is that) if a person wants some thing (particular) there is no obstacle or hindrance to get it.

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1. *Baharistan-i-Sukhn*, Madras, 1958, p.566.

For young men and the debanch the means for sensual pleasure are so much in Hindustan that they are not available in any other region.[1] Mulla Muhammad ashraf Mazandarani, admiring the joys of Hindustan says:

Ru be suie Hind Shabha dar vatan Khabida ast

Har ki aish-O-ishrat-i-Hindustan ra did ast.[2]

(He, who has enjoyed the mirth and pleasure of Hindustan. sleeps, in his home land, with his face turned towards this country).

When Khwaja Abdul Majid Harvi, the Asaf Khan I, captured the fort of Chura Gadh in 971 A.H./1536 A.D., Abul fazl wrote:

"Though, Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan was Tajik and belonged to the class of penmen, yet, by the support of this empire which is connected with eternity, he displayed such (marvellous) deeds that all the Turks submitted themselves to him... In short, when the fort was conquered, articles of gold, silver, minted and unminted coins, ornaments studded with jewels gems, pearls, statues figures and idols inlaid with jewels, effigies of animals made fully of gold, and the other precious items and articles, beyond estimate and counting fell in the hands of Asaf Khan and his soldiers. This has been communicated by reliable reporters that all the belongings and the treasures of Chura Gadh, seized single handedly by Asaf Khan, were one hundred cauldrons full of gold coins, bearing the denomination "Alai". There were many other things also, beyond reckoning and counting besides".[3]

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1. *Haft Iqlim,* Ilmi Publicaton, Tehran, vol.I, pp.381-382.
2. Ahmad Gulchin Ma'ani, Karavan-i-Hind, Vol.I, p.70.
3. *Akbar Nama,*Vol.II, pp.208-215.

Taking in view one of the above mentioned forts, out of many others in hundreds, we shall see what Jalal Uddin Akbar had written to Shah Abbas I, in 1003 A.H./1594 A.D.

"This might have been heard from travellers what difficult tasks and stubborn wars had been fought (between me and) the Sultans of Hindustan and the local nobles of that region. For a long time that country with its width and spaciousness remained divided among several arrogant governors and wicked-minded rulers, who, being hostile and oppressive, caused disturbance in the minds of the people, the created beings of God. (That Country) with the support of Divine grace came under the subjugation of the administrators of the powerful empire from the foot of Hindu kuh (the mountain upto the farthest (point) of the Saltish sea (Indian Ocean).[1] All their rulers of the deserts, short

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1. Allami, Ibid, Vol.III, pp.656 and 657. It should also be mentioned here, that when the Mughal emperor Jahangir, in the year 1015 A.H./1606 A.D. personally wished to chase the hostile prince Khusrau, he did not think it wise to vacate Agra, the capital seat of the empire...... and the treasure house of the wealth of the whole world. Because, it would have been undiplomatic from administrative point of view of a country. For this reason, while thinking to chase Khusrau, he wrote to (prince) Parviz, from Agra, to come to Agra very quickly. He wrote, "I give in your charge the capital seat of the country and the treasure, the accumulated wealth of Korah and with that I leave you under the protection of God.

   See: *Jahangir nama,* edited by Khwaja Abul Hasan, Naval Kishore, Lucknow, 1898, p.43.
   As a powerful ruler, the Mughal emperor Shahjahan proved better than Akbar. He defeated even those hostile ruling dynasties who always remained hostile to Akbar. Being a powerful ruler, he captured forty forts in a year. This historical event was recorded by Kalim Kashani, the Persian poet at his court, in the following quatrain;

   Shaha! Bakhtat Kishwar-i-Iqbal girift.
   tighat ze a'dou mulk O Sar o mal girift
   chal qila be yak sal girifti ki yakiyash
   Shahan natawanand be chal sal girift.

   (Oh King! your (good) luck captured the country of fortune. Your sword seized from the enemy (his) country, beheaded him and took his estate.
   You captured such forty forts in a year that (even) one of them could not be captured by (other) kings in forty years.

   See: *A'mal-i-Saleh,* Known as: *Shahjahan nama,* by Muhammad Saleh Kanboh, edited by Dr. Wahid Quraishi, Lahore, 1976, Vol.II, p.193.

sighted mountain dwelling Afghans, the nomadic Baluchs, holders of the forts and (big) land lords have collectively and willingly come under the shadow of obedience and submission.

Commercial roads and trade routes

The records of ancient history reveal that commercial relations between Hindustan and Persia are from time immortal. There were two main land routes to go to central Asia, which still exist in the North-West part of Himalayan range. One of them leads to Kabul and the other to Qandhar. Both of them connect the Indian Sub-continent with Khurasan province. In fact, between the development of navigation, and the invention of steamers, the Indian Sub-continent was situated on two internal trade routes. One of them called the *Silk route,* connecting Eastern China with Rum and the other, known as Medicinal route, passing through the Southern part of the Indian Sub-continent and joined all the countries lying on the shore of Mediterranean sea. The two routes that passed through Persia were quite appropriate for trade purpose and travellers. Persia being situated on the road that led to south of Europe, had a very important market for the exchange of raw silk and its products.[1]

These routes during the reign of Persian kings of Arscacian dynasty (224-256 B.C) had several brisk markets, that maintained cordial commercial relations between the two countries. But, when the highwaymen made all these

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1. *Tarikh-i-Iran* (History of Iran), from early period down to the eighteenth century A.D., compiled by N.O. Pigulu, second edition, 1349 A.H./1970 A.D., pp. 63, 64 and 142, *Tarikh-i-Ijtimai-i-Iran* (Social History of Iran) by : Murtaza Rawandi, Vol.I, Fifth edition, 1357 A.H. 1978 A.D. pp. 668-671.

routes unsafe, the minor land and sea routes, lying between Persian gulf and Indian Ocean gained much importance.[1]

During the reign of Persian kings of the Sassanid dynasty (224-652 A.D.) the sea routes were preferred to land routes and brought the two countries closer. As the Persian had full control over the navigation system of this region, therefore, their allies could easily carry their goods upto Sarandip island. This is also worthmentioning here, that Firdausi, has also described in his celebrated epic, *Shahnama,* that when Alexander the great invaded Persia, Some weapons were imported by the Persians from the southern part of the Indian Sub-continent.[2]

The commercial relations, between Hindustan and Persia, continued after the Islamic invasion of Persia, which gave a good opportunity for better understanding between the two countries. These relations in fact, opened gates

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1. *Iraniha Wa Sharq-i-Africa* (The Iranians and Eastern Africa) by Dr. Abdulsalam Abdul Aziz Fahmi, 1357 A.H./1978 A.D.

2. Firdausi, describing the war scene with Alexander, says :
ze saz o ze gurdan-i-har do guruh
zamin hamchu darya bud o gard koh
ze bala-i- asb-o zire-bargostowan
du ruya sepah bar kashidand saf
ze khangar hami yaft khurshid taf
ze bas nala-o buq Hindi darai
nami kuh ra dil bar amad ze jai

(with the arms and by the fights of the warriors of both sides, the ground looked like the ocean and the mountain had turned to dust. With the armour and the daggers of Hindus, the horses and their riders were fully equipped.

The warriors, of both sides drew arrays
The daggers that they had reflected their sheen on the sun.
There was so much uproor by the conches that, even, the heart of the mountain was shivering) *shahnama of Firdausi,* Matn-i-Intiqadi, by Azar, Vol.IV, 1976 A.D., pp.391-392.

for Persian to migrate to this country and the number of Persian immigrants to Hindustan was largest during the Mughal period. In the chapter, pertaining to this subject, poems of the poets shall be quoted that indicate how favourable economic condition of Hindustan atracted them towards it.[1]

Chu shusti be shamshiri Hindi zamin
be aram binshin-o ramish guzin

(when you have washed the ground with the help of Indian sword,
Now, you sit comfortably and enjoy merriment)

The role of sectarian, political social and cultural factors that caused migration of the people to Hindustan:

1. **Sectarian factor**

This has already been mentioned in the chapter related to sectarian conditions in Persia, that when Shah Ismail I revolted and gained political power, he faced several problems. One of them was to compel the Muslims of the Sunni sect, who were almost in majority, to covert to Shiite sect. Most of his difficulties were aroused by this forced conversion.

The sectarian unity, brought about by Shah Ismail I, which is considered a landmark in the history of Persia, though united the people of the country and also protected its boundaries yet the undesirable measures taken by Shah Ismail I and also followed by his successors to the last, resulted in adverse side-effects and finally caused the downfall, of this dynasty during the reign of Shah Husain (1105-1135 A.H./1694-1772).

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1. *Masalik-i-Mamalik* by Abu Ibrahim Istakhri, edited by Iraj Afshar, 1347 A.H. (1968 A.D.) p.143, *Muruj ul Zahab Wa ma'adin ul Jawaher* by Abul Hasan Ali bin Masudi, translated by Abul Qasim Payendah, Vol.I, 1365 A.H. (1986 A.D.) *Narm tanan-i-Murvarid saz-i-khalij-i-Fars* by Dr. Mahdi Tajalli pur, 1362 A.H./1983 A.D. pp. 121-126, *Safar nama-i-Pirzadah,* edited by Hafiz Farman Farmayan, second edition, 1630 A.H./1981 A.D., pp.113-114 and *Political and social movements in ancient Punjab* by B.Prakash, 1964, pp.23, 75 and 76.

The declaration to be pro Shiite and the proclamation to be associated with the family of Ali were used as levers by the Safavids to attract those different clans of Qazilbashids, who lived at Anatolia and were a sort of those shiite who had an exaggerated devotion to Ali. In fact, these were Qazilbashids who brought the Safavids to power, and when they strengthened their rule in Persia, again they used them as a tool to crush their opponents. As a matter of fact, the conflict of the Safavids with the Ottoman Turks and Uzbeks was purely political, but the Safavids made it appear as an issue of sectarian difference.[1]

Shah Ismail, immediately after his meteoric rise, removed from his way all his opponents by hook or by crook, without discriminating between the Sunni and the Shiite sects. It was for this reason that at the very early stage of his gaining power, people, in a very large number, preferred to desert their home-land and shift to some peaceful place. Among the persons who migrated from Herat to Kahan, a district in the vicinity of Sistan of Sindh province, one was Abdul Aziz Abhari MUHADDIS (the narrator of the traditions of prophet Muhammad) entitled Imad Uddin.[2] He migrated with his two sons, Maulana Asir Uddin and Maulana Yar Muhammad, in 918 A.H./1512 A.D., during the reign of Nasir Uddin Abul Fath Jam-i-Firuz (914-927 A.D./1508-1520 A.D.) son of Jam Nizam Uddin, known as Jam-i-Nandah (D. 914 A.H./1508 A.D.).[3]

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1. For a detailed account about the fall of the Safavid dynasty, see: *Inqiraz-i-Silsila-i-Safavia* (downfall of the safavid dynasty) by Laurence Lakhart, translated into Persian by Ismail Daulat Shahi, published by Bungah-i-tarjuma-o-nashr-i-kitab, Teheran, 1344 A.H./1965 A.D.

2. *Habib us Siyar*, Vol.IV, p. 349.

3. See: Nizam Uddin Haravi *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.III, Calcutta 1912 A.D. pp.517-519, and see also : *Maqalat Ush Shoara* by Mir Ali Sher Qane' of Thatta Karachi, 1975 A.D. pp.421-422.

The followers of the Sunnite sect were the first to be made victim of these sectarian differences. Among them one was Fazl Ullah Ruzbahan Khungi[1] (d.925 A.H./1519 A.D.), the author of ***Alam Ara-i-Amini*** and ***Suluk-ul-Muluk.*** When the Safavids came in power, he was forced to be a vagrant. The last fifteen years of his life were spent in Transoxiana at the court of Uzbak Sultans. There he wrote his celebrated book, ***Mehman Nama-i Bokhara,***[2] the extensive history of the reign of Muhammad Shaybani. During his stay there, he always provoked Uzbaks against the Safavids. Consequently, in the year 909 A.H./1503 A.D., while staying at Qarisan, Transoxiana, he wrote the book, ***Ibtal-i-Nahjul batil wa Ihmal o Kashf el batil*** to contradict ***Nahjul haqq wa kashf ul sidq,*** the book written by Allama Helli (d. 726 a.H./1325 A.D.). Almost, at the same time Qazi Nurullah Shustari also wrote a book, ***Ihqaq ul haq*** in which he also refuted the views of Allama Helli. This book he wrote when he was appointed Qazi (the Chief Justice) of Lahore by the Mughal emperor Akbar.

Zain Uddin Mahmud Wasifi was the other person who was compelled by unfavourable circumstances to migrate from his home land. He has given a detailed account of those events in his celebrated work; ***Badai ul Wagaye.***[3]

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1. Pertaining to Khunj, a town in the city of Lar, Fars province. Khunji was known as Shirazi as well as Isfahani, because he was born in Shiraz, and was educated at Isfahan.

2. This book has been edited by Dr.Menouchehr Sutudeh, published by Bungah-i-Tarjuma-o-Nashr, Tehran, 1335 A.H./1948 A.D.

3. Edited by Alexander Boldrouf, Bunyad-i-Farhang publication, Vol.I, second edition published in summer 1349 A.H./1970 A.d. p.5.

Maulana Qaidi Shirazi[1] also met with the same fate. There were persons who kept themselves aloof from the sectarian differences. Mir Muhammad Mumin Astarabadi[2] was one of them, but, he was charged to be irreligious, therefore, he thought it wise to say good bye to his mother land. What happened with Tahir Anjidani generally called Shah Tahir Deccani, was an irony of fate. He was the person, who converted many persons to the Shiite sect, after his arrival in the Deccan (South India), but, Shah Ismail charged him to be Ismaili (the follower of seven Imams) and with the propagation of blasphemy, He was kept under strict vigilance and was to be given capital punishment, but luckily, he succeeded in making good the escape.[3]

Mir Ala ud Daula Saifi Hasani Qazvini, whose pen name was Kami, was the son of Mir Yahya, the compiler of *Lubbut Tawarikh.* Badauni has written about him that the names of his ancestors have been mentioned, successively in many historical accounts.[4] He was a profound scholar of rational and traditional sciences. When Shah Ismail revolted, he derived the chronogram of this event in these words *"mazhab-nahaq"* (a false sect). But, when he was arrested, and accused, he read the same chronogram in this way: *"mazhabuna haqq"* (our sect is ture) and in this way he saved his skin. The Saiyids of Saifi family were the

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1. *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi,* p.212, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* Vol.II, p.491, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol I, Lucknow edition, 1869 A.D., p.170 and *Montakhab ut Tawarikh,* Vol.III, pp. 315-316.

2. *Arafat-ul-Ashegin,* Ms. fol. 708; *Haft Iqlim,* Vol.3, pp.113-115, *Hadiqat-us Salatin,* p.33, *Majma ul Khawas,* by Sadiqi, Tabriz, 1327, p,78.

3. *Tuhfa-i-Sami,* by Sam Mirza Safavi, Tehran, 1314, P.299, *Tazkira-i-Nasrabadi,* by Mirza Muhammad Tahir, Tehran, 1317, P.47: *Riaz ul Arifin,* Hidayat, Tehran, 1316, ppl.169-170; *Nataij-ul-Afkar,* Bombay, 1336, p.434.

4. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* Vol.III, p. 97-99.

strict followers of the sunnite sect, for this they were charged guilty by Shah Tahmasb and all their assets were confiscated by him. This was the main cause of the migration of Mir Abdul Latif towards Hindustan.[1] He wrote in his decision that"

> "As Mir Yahya and his son Abdul Latif highly exaggerate the observate of the Sunnite tenets and are main cause of resisting sunnis in Qazvin, therefore, both of them be sent to me along with the complete literature (belonging to) sunnite sect which they have in their possession and all the members of their family be taken to Isfahan."[2] Mir Ala ud daula, who was at that time in Azarbayjan, sent the messenger, post haste with the letter, bearing all the contents in it. Armoury personnel were instructed that Mir Yahya be kept confined in Isfahan for one and a half years. There in that state he set himself free from the confinement of this world, full of turbidity and worries. Mir Abdul Latif made good the escape. He wandered for some time in the mountains of (province) from place to place. Then he proceeded

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1. The Mughal emperor Humayun met him in Qazvin, at the time when he was living as a refugee there. He had said that one of the benefits of his asylum in Persia was his meeting with Mir Yahya. There, at the same time he invited Mir Abdul Latif to come to Hindustan.
See: Gulchin ma'ani, *Karavan-i-Hind*, Vol. 2, p.1160.

2. Ibid.

> towards Hindustan, being promised by His Majesty (Served by god Almighty). There he got the honour to meet him. He received boundless bounty and was honoured with generosity of (His Majesty, i.e. Humayun). He delivered some lectures on the poetical works of Hafiz, etc. to His Majesty. When Humayun expired, he attended the court of Akbar. There, too he was honoured by the benevolence of that emperor. He died in the year 981 A.H./1572 A.D. in the newly founded (city) of Fathpur. His burial took place in the upper part of the fort of Ajmer, near Mir Saiyid Husain (entitled) Khang Savar (a rider of the Muslim horse).[1]

Kami Qazvini came to Hindustan, some time after 963 A.H./1555 A.D. He compiled a *Tazkira* (a collection of biographies), called *Nafais ul Maasir* (Memories of the rare personalities). He started this work in 973 A.H./1565 A.d. and completed it in 979 A.H./1571 A.D. In the year 983 a.H./1575 A.D., he was appointed in Gujrat province to the post of trusteeship (Amini). He was alive upto 998 A.H./1589 A.D.[2]

<u>Nuqtavi Immigrants</u> :

Belief in the Nuqtavi doctrine was also considered such a big crime in Persia under the rule of the safavids that the followers of this belief were

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1. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.III, p. 97
2. *Akbar Nama*, Vol.III, pp, 165-166.

charged as athests. But, in Hindustan, during the reign of Akbar they were called Sufis and were received with great reverence by his courtiers. A person if charged Nuqtavi could not live in Persia under any circumstance. While, Hindustan was the most peaceful place for him to take refuge, because, they were accorded protection and imperial support. As Nuqtavis were very liberal in their views, with regard to principles of life and religious belief, they were therefore, called *"Wasiul mashrab"* or broad-minded people. There were persons, whose belief in the Nuqtavi cult was doubtful but, as they were very liberal in their out look, they also left Persia, out of fear of being charged as Nuqtavi. As Kashan was the biggest pocket of the Nuqtavis, therefore most of them migrated from that city. Here a brief account of them follows:

1. **Mir Ali Akbar Tashbihi of Kashan:**

Tashbihi, as a child, found the atmosphere of Kashan overwhelmed with poetic genius. As he had also this God gifted talent he therefore got associated with the gathering of poets and in a very short time became a renowned poet. He also used to attend the assemblies of Nuqtavis and was highly influenced by their thoughts. Very soon he realized that the intellectual climate of Hindustan was very suitable for the development of the Nuqtavis ideas, therefore he made up his mind to migrate there.

Badauni writes about him that:

> "Tashbihi Kashi (of Kashan) came twice or thrice to Hindustan. During these days, he has come again and preaching atheism. He invites the people to the creed of Pasikhanis. He introduced himself to Abul Fazl as a jurist and through him presented a *gasida*

(laudatory poem to the caliph of the time (i.e., Akbar), in which he highly praised him. The theme of his ideas is why people are one sided and do not over throw the imitators, so that the truth may find its right place, and the purity may be born from it. He wrote a treatise related to dots and letters, which he dedicated to Abul Fazl. All its contents are based on hypocrisy and related to (the science of) numbers. Hakim Ain ul Mulk derived the numerical value of Tashbihi and Tazriqi (which is equal to 727). The rest can be easily understood.[1]

He lived bare-headed and bare-footed, a contemptible life. He spent all of his time in burial grounds and was condemned by knowledgeable persons. In spite of a wretched life he was in the good books of the rulers of his time, as Fakhrul Zamani Qazvini writes:

"Jalal Uddin Akbar Shah had fixed daily one gold coin from the mint of Lahore, as the means of his sustenance. After him, the emperor Jahangir, continued his daily stipend. At present, i.e. the year 1028 (A.H./1618 A.D.) he is residing at Lahore.[2]

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1. *Muntakhab Ut Tawarikh*, Vol.III, pp. 204-206.

2. *Tazkirah-i-Maikhana*, pp. 887-891.

Abul Fazl Allami counting him among the poets associated with the court of Akbar writes:

> "Tashbihi Kashi is living, from the very beginning, in the state of frenzy and leads his life according to the doctrine of Dervishes called Mahmudis."[1]

Maulana Mir Haidar Zehni of Kashan:

"He was one of the renowned poets of Kashan, versatile in taste, dexterous in painting and very active in gambling, particularly the game of backgammon.[2] In the field of poetry he was unparalled in composing gazals (lyric poems) and satirical poems. He was also specifically unique in versifying in the dialect of Kashan. At a very early age he devoted himself to the art of poetry. As he was much inclined towards ghazal (lyric poetry), he therefore did not write even a single poem in praise of his contemporary rulers. Witticism and broad-mindedness have been the characteristics of most of the Nuqtavis. As he also possessed these qualities, therefore, he spent most of his time in lewdness. He liked the company of influential persons to relish their delicious dishes, enjoy pleasant drinks, instll his ideas in their minds and make use of their social power in obtaining their moral support.

He became associated with Amir Rukn Uddin Masud Naqib, entitled Siyadat Panah (the protector of supremacy) and gained his favour and enjoyed all the benefits of life. He decided to say good bye to his home land and migrated to Hindustan tin 985 A.H./1577 A.D. Maulana Zehni though liked his home

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Lucknow edition, 1896 A.D. Vol. I, p. 315.

2. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol, 239.

town very much yet did not stay there for a long time after the migration of Amir Rukn Uddin. He also came to Hindustan with one of the traders and luckily met his patron at the city of Ahmad Nagar and enjoyed all those benefits that he had in Persia in his company. By this time, he is still living in that city and settled on the seat with perfect comfort and peace. It is evident from his ideas that he nourishes the thoughts of Nuqtavis in his mind. In appreciation of *Sawati Ul Ilham* - a commentary written by Faizi, the poet laureate who used only dotless letters in it he composed the following verses :

ta bar sar-i-in sahifa jangi nashavad

vaz nuqta varaq jild-i-palangi nashavad

(May there not be any dispute on this scripture, may not dot be spreaded to page like the skin of a leopard)

in nuskha na az babat-i-rasm ast-o rusum

makhfist daru, jahan jahan ganj-i-ulum

(This script does not deal with common customs and traditions. In it are concealed several thousand treasures of knowledge)

Ta nayyir-i-harfash az varaq tale shavad

Pinhan gashtand nuqtaha hamchu nujum

(As long as the sun of letters will remain shining on its page, there will be subtle points hidden like the stars)

From the above given verses it is fully evident how mysterious were the Nuqtavis and what code words they used to preach their tenets. This also should be pointed out here that Nuqta (dot) and Nukta (point) are two different words in Arabic and are used in the same sense in Persian. But, here the poet has used the word Nuqta in the sense of subtle point.

Maulana Hayati Kashani:[1]

In the early days of his life he worked as water carrier. As the water is life (Hayat) giving, he adopted his noma de plume as Hayati (life giver). Many mystics, saints and mendicants looked upon him with deep reverence, because he had all the qualities of a dervish in him. At the young age, when he was working as water carrier, he also studied the art of poetry. His poetical compositions, found him a coveted position and distinguished him among his contemporaries; as a dervish he surpassed all. Amir Nimat Ullah, entitled Siyadat-panah (the protector of supremacy) had great affection for him and always kept open the gates of bounty and generosity upon him. By the time his son, Amir Ruknuddin Masud, entitled Siyadat-o-Fazilat-panah (the protector of supremacy and virtue) reached the age of maturity, Maulana Hayati was living in Kashan in the same locality where this noble son had grown up, As a result he enjoyed the company of both the above mentioned persons. He composed several delightful verses which remained imprinted on the mind of the people.

In the meantime he joined the company of Nuqtavis and in a very short period acquired the knowledge of Nuqta (dot) and became well-acquainted with their customs and traditions. Having fallen in love with a gold smith boy he went after him to Qazvin, the Capital - as this sort of love was permissible among the members of that society - there, also he remained associated with the reliable persons of that society for a while. He was with them, till some of them were arrested and their literature was taken to Shah Tahmasb Safavi. After

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1. Badauni, *Muntakab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.II, p. 393 and *Tazkira-i-Mai Khana*, p. 352.

making investigation about the member of that society, all of them were given in the custody of an arsenal officer for confinement and torture.

In short, Maulana Hayati was in confinement for two years. After his release from there, he went to Shiraz and lived there for a year or two peacefully. In the year 986 A.H./1578 A.D. he returned to his home city, Kashan. There, contrary to his past conduct, he tried to live according to the tradition of prophet Muhammed. In the guise of piety, he was regarded with devotion and deep reverence.

But, as his ideas did not correspond to the social environment of that city, he migrated to Ahmad Nagar. There, he found favourable conditions and continued with his mystic way of living. The following verses indicate his views about the Hurufis and the Nuqtavis.

bar safha-e-arzu khat-i-nisyan kash

ney wasl talab, na mihnat-i-hijran kash,

(on the page of desires draw the line of cancellation. Neither seek union, nor suffer the pain of parting

Khahi ki kas angusht be "harf" nanahad

benshin-o-chu "Nuqta" paye dar daman kash[1]

(If you want that no person should point finger at your letter (harf). You should sit like the dot (Nuqta) and draw your feet under your skirt.

Here, in the allegorical language he suggested to his fellow beings that if

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1. *Tazkera-i-Roz-i-Roshan*, p.165. He has been mentioned, among the contemporary poets of Jahangir, by mistake, under the heading of Hababi. See: *Khazana-i-Amira*, pp. 192-193. He has been bracketed with Hayati of Gilan by confusion, the court poet of Akbar and his son Jahangir. The later biographers particularly the compiler of *Nataij ul Afkar* has followed the same mistake.

they did not want to be take exception to by their critics, they should gather themselves like a dot and keep themselves hidden, so that no one might understand that the person concerned was a Nuqtavi or Hurufi.[1]

"**Hakim Ibadullah Kashani**" is a genius who specializes in all the branches of present day sciences, versatile and perfect and has laudable "morality". He is one of the trustworthy companions of Sultan, a renowned person of his age, unique in the field of philosophy and inquisition and excels all the praise worthy persons of his[2] time. He came about twenty years before this time from Iran to Hind - (This account is being written in 1025 A.H. (161 A.D.) - and lived most of the time at Lahore. He recently, presented a book to emperor Jahangir, and was honoured with a stipend from His Majesty. When he was presenting the book, His Majesty in jest or seriously said to him that it would be better that he presented to him the book, *Bahr-O Kuza* (the ocean and the jar) and none other. He extempore replied:

Wujud-i-hazrat an darya-i-zharfst

Ki bahr-O Kuzah be an saut-o harfst.

(The existence of your Majesty is such a deep, ocean, in which the "Bahr O Kuzah" is just like the voice and the word).[3] The beauty that lies in the above mentioned verse is that he used the words Saut (voice) and Harf (word) which

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1. *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.II, p.478.

2. In the above mentioned passage the words : morality, trustworthy and praiseworthy are the literal translations of the terms, Mahmudah, Umana and Mahmud. The compiler of *Arafat Ul Ashigin* has used these words in particular meanings. He has introduced Hakim Ibad Ullah, metaphorically as one of the trustworthies (Umana) among the Nuqtavis.

3. Badauni in *Muntakhab Ut Tawarikh*, (Vol.II, p. 247) has mentioned that Bahr O Kuzah is one of the books written by Mahmud Pasikhani Nuqtavi.

were the particular terms used by the Hurufis as well as by Nuqtavis, when they discussed their philosophy.

Muhammad Baqir Khurdah Kashani:[1]

Muhammad Baqir, whose pen name was Khurdah was the younger brother of Maqsud Khurdah of Kashan. In the art of poetry he consulted Muhtasham Kashani (D.996 A.H./1587 A.D.) and in calligraphy was the student of Mir Moi'zuddin Muhammad Kashani (d.995 A.H./1586 A.D.) who was one of the renowned calligraphers of Nastaliq style.[2]

In the year 1001 A.H. 592 A.D., Saiyid Ahmad Kashi nuqtavi was arrested with his disciples and confined with them by Aqa Khzra-i Nahavandi, the minister of Kashan. Muhammad Baqir was also among them. In the year 1002 A.H./1593 A.D. Shah Abbas Safavi went to Kashan and chastised them at the place called Nasrabad.[3] But, at the same time it came to his notice that Muhammad Baqir was the lover of the son of Mir Ahmad, therefore he was pardoned on the plea that the vagrant poor fellow had thrown himself in this trouble for two reasons, firstly the love (with the son of Mir Ahmad) and secondly the art of poetry, with which he was endowed.[4]

After that he was given in the charge of Farhad Khan Qramanlu who asked him to come with him to Khurasan and there he appointed him as a librarian of his book collection. After some time having performed this job, he

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1. Khurdah Farush is a compound Persian word for a retailer. As Muhammad Baqir was a retailer, he was therefore called Khurdah, See: *Arafat*, fol.723.

2. *Gulistan-i-Hunar* by Qazi Ahmad Qummi, p.122.

3. *Alam Ara-i-abbasi*, p. 476.

4. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, Fol.153.

took permission to pay a visit to the holy shrines. There he stayed for two years. In the meantime he wrote laudatories in which he admired wisdom of Ali and mentioned the martyrdom of his son, Imam Husain. After his return to his homeland he proceeded to the Deccan (the present South India). In th year 1006 A.H./1597 A.D. he attended the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (988-1035 A.H./1580/A.D.) at Bijapur and there too he was assigned the post of librarianship.

After the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, his son Muhammad was declared his successor. When Prince Khurram (later called the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan) came to throne in 1037 A.H./1627 A.D.) he got the news of Ibrahim's death at Khaibar, where he was staying for war campaign. He sent Islam Khan with the message of condolence and congratulation to Muhammad. Mirza Muhammad Sadiq Mina-i-Isfahani was also with him, who met Muhammad Baqir Khurdah and was pleased to know that he was very close to Muhammad and enjoyed very high position. After some time he proceeded towards Bengal and made up his mind to perform the holy pilgrimage of Mecca. In the year 1038 A.H./1628 A.D. he expired, in the city Burhanpur.

From his following verse, it is quite evident that he was a Nuqtavi

Nutq ra dast gir, chun Harfam

Harf ra rahnama, chu erabam

I guide the speech like the letter; I lead the letter like flourishes (representing vowels)[1]

Muhammad Sharif, alias Mir Sharif Amuli fled from Persia to take refuge in Hindustan, as he had the charge of atheism against him and that of being a Nuqtavi, though the grandees of that country recognised him as a monotheist and mystic. Information of his arrival in this country was also given by Hakim Abul Fath Gilani, in a letter that he wrote to his brother, Hakim Humam on Saturday, 9th of the month of Rabi Ul Awwal 989 A.H. (14 th April 1581 A.D.) In the letter he mentioned that: "Recently a caravan has come from Iraq, which includes among the well known persons, Khwaja Muhammad Muzaffar Husain Sabzavari, Muhammad Sharif Amuli and Ibrahim Beg, brother of Asafl Khan." [2]

In another letter that he wrote to Khwaja Shamsuddin Khafi, the minister of Akbar, he remembers him with these words : "Amir Sharif Amuli May he live safe - the champion of the arena of compassion and charity.[3]

Iskandar Beg Munshi,[4] in the account of Ustad Yusuf Tarkashduz (the quiver maker) who was also one of the members of Nuqtavi movement,

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1. *Kulliyat-i-Baqir Khurdah* (poetical collection of Khurdah) consists of twelve thousand verses on various topics. Mullah abdul Baqi studied it in 1025 A.H./1616 A.D. See: *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol.III, pp. 792-797. See also *Tazkirah-i-Maykhana*, pp. 614-627. Abdun Nabi, the compiler of the Tazkerah has given a detailed account of Muhammad Baqir Khurdah and cited forty eight verses that he composed in praise of wine, under the title "Saqi Nama" (a poem addressing a cup bearer).

2. *Ruqat-i-Hakim Abul Fath* (the letters of Hakim .....), published by the Punjab University, Lahore, 1968 A.D., p.31.

3. Ibid. p.66.

4. *Alam ara-i-Abbasi*, p.476.

incidentally has mentioned about Mir Sharif, while speaking, about Nuqtavis. He says "Sharif Amuli though was exhaustive (in knowledge) yet had absurd ideas. He was one of the leading persons of this group. Being afraid of the harshness of the jurists of the age, he fled to Hind (Hindustan). His Majesty, the nobles and grandees received him with great reverence and treated him like a spiritual man"

Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad Harvi writes:[1]

> "Mir Sharif Amuli is one of the monotheists of the time. He has good sense of mysticism. He comes in the category of the nobles who hold the rank of one thousand (soldiers). At present (1002 A.H./1593 A.D.) he is in Bihar (province)"

Mughal emperor, Jahangir wrote about Sharif Amuli in his memoirs, in the early days of his accession to the throne (1014 A.H./1605 A.D.):[2]

> "During the reign of my respected father he put off the dress of mendicancy and mysticism and got the position of nobility and chiefhood."

and Taqi Uddin Auhadi writes:

> "In the beginning he travelled all alone in the state of mendicancy. when he joined the service of Akbar, the,king, he established himself (by involving) in the

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1. *Tabaqat-i-Aakbari*, Vol.II, p.451.

2. *Akbar Nama*, Vol.III, pp.744-834.

affairs of the empire and chiefdom. It is said that he was one of the followers of Pasikhani. The following verse is the evidence of his broad-mindedness.

Dar mashrab-i Uyaki bud badah-o ab
dar mazhab-i Uyaki bud masjid-o dair.[1]

[In his order wine and water were same.
In his creed there was no difference between the mosque and the (fire) temple)

Abdul Ghani Yazdi:

He was the son of Qutb Uddin. Beg. In spite of the fact that he was quite intelligent, quick in apprehension and to some extent knowledgeable, lived like a care free profligate, jester, humourist and impudent person. It was on account of this that he was generally known as *"Allah Murakkabi"*.[2] At his native town he frequently visited the followers of Mahmud Pasikhani, the Nuqtavi and had learnt some of their terms and particular phrases. But, when he realized that Shah Abbas was a rank enemy of the Nuqtavis, he thought it wise to flee to Hindustan to save his life. Finally, he came to Agra in the year 1020 A.H./1611 A.D. and got an audience with emperor Jahangir. When he came before the emperor, instead of observing Kurnish (salutation and prostration) and praising the emperor, he uttered these words *"La Ilaha illalmurakkab ul Mubayyan,"*[3] All the countries, present there, were astonished to hear this quotation. At this,

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1. *Arafat*, fol. 376.

2. Allah Murakkab is the phrase, used by the Nuqtavis as their slogan and they meant that Allah (God) is that combination of qualities which are found in human beings.

3. There is no God, but Murakkab-i-Mubayyan (The manifested composition), which are human beings.

the emperor said, "What did you say and what are the meanings of these words? repeat what you have said". Though he kept quiet and was repentant of his conduct, yet some of the courtiers said that he had spoken the code words of the people destined for Hell and he probably belonged to that class. The emperor as well as his courtiers insisted upon him to disclose the meaning but he did not utter a single word. Since then he was known by this phrase (Al murakkab ul Mubayyan).

Taqi auhadi had optimistic view about him and writes;

> "It is certain that the attitude that Ghani had adopted was not due to some fault on his part; such nonsensical things, he would have said by way of jest and humour. Because, I had discourse with him and did not find any fault with his appearance. Who can say what he had in his heart?"[1]

Javid Qazvini:

Malik Shah Husain Sistani has commented that Javid Qazvini was one of the Nuqtavis and believed in the transmigration of soul. His words are:

> "Darvish Javid originally belonged to Kharqan, Qazvin. He made a number of travels and met several hermits. He was a man of exalted natural disposition. This has been mentioned by the narrator that those who attended his company attributed to him

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1. *Arafat,* fol.525.

the belief in metempsychosis. In the year 1017 A.H./1608 A.D. he came to Sistan. He stayed for a few days in that country. From there he proceeded towards the (sub) continent of Hindustan."[1]

Fakhruz zamani Qazvini writes:

"Most of the time he had discourses with good hearted mystics and the spirit adorning sages.... At every place, whether he was travelling or was at home he (highly) spoke about mysticism, and composed verses in the mystic style.... The meeting took place with him when he had freshly arrived in Hindustan. At that time his age was thirty years. By that time about fifteen thousand verses he had composed parallel to the epic of Maulavi Ma'navi-i-Jalaluddin Muhammad Rumi. These are the opening lines of that fine composition:

Nai ki hardam sad hekayat mikunad
az lab-i-nai revayatmi kunad

(The flute tells hundreds of stories in every breath. These stories it narrates through the lips of the flutist.

Mashno az nai bishno az sahib nafas
kaz jamadi nala nashnidst kas

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1. *Khayr ul Bayan.* fol, 370.

(Do not listen from the flute, listen from the man of heart, because, from an inanimate object nobody has listened a lament).

He went round several inhabited regions. In the year 1027 A.H./1617 A.D. when the banner of the majestic diginity of Jahangir had gloriously alighted at Gujrat province, Darvish Javid was at Ahamd Abad (city) Through Nawwab Mirza Ghayas Beg, the turst worthy of the empire (the prime minister)........... he got the honour of prostration and salutation. Shah Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir the king was pleased...... He fixed some cash amount, as the means of subsistence for him from the mint of Ahmad Abad".[1]

Taqiuddin Auhadi says :

"I met him in the camp of Jahangir at Mandu, In the year 1028 A.H./1618 A.D. I also saw him in Gujrat. There he was composing an epic parallel to the epic of Maulavi".[2]

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1. *Tazkira-i-Maykhana*, pp.919-921.

2. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol. 193.

Stagnation in Persian Language and Literature during Safavid Period

Azarbayjan is Turkish speaking area and most of the people of this province usually speak Azari dialect. When Shah Ismail I came to the throne, he came across mostly those Azari speaking people who were also familiar with Turkish, the language of those Turks, and Tartaris who started invading this region in the seventh century after Hijra (14th century A.D.) and made it the centre of the territories ruled by Ilkhanid Mughals, the chiefs of Qaraquyunlu and Aq-quyunlu clans. Consequently the people of Azarbayjan became gradually acquainted with this language. As the Persian speaking ancestors of Shah Ismail I, had close relations with the Turkish speaking sufis of Anatolia, therefore they also conversed with them in their local dialect. Shah Ismail too had also grown up among his Turkish speaking disciples, and so he had become more fluent in Turkish than in Persian. When Shah Ismail I captured the Azarbayjan province, and defeated Alwand Beg, the chief of Aq-quyunlu clan, and made Tabriz his capital, Turkish became the official language of his court.

When the capital of Persia was shifted to Qazvin and afterwards to Isfahan, both being Persian speaking, Turkish was still in use as court language. The Shah Spoke Turkish, for the reason that he knew it better than all the other Safavid princes. He was taught this language by one of the Qizilbashid nobles, called Lallah (the tutor). As he was invariably associated with the turkish speaking Qizilbashid nobles, he became well versed in Turkish. Later, when he came to power with the help of the nobles of that clan, he always spoke to them

in their language. Besides, any person who composed poems in Turkish or wrote a book or books in this language was greatly encouraged. The interesting thing is that Shah Ismail I claimed to be the descendant of Afrasyab, the legendary king of Turan, the land of Turks and on account of this he composed poems in the Azari dialect of Turkish language, under the pen name Khatai, whereas Sultan Salim, the ruler of the Ottoman empire associated himself with Faridun, the legendary king of Persia, and therefore composed verses in Persian and compiled a collection of his poetical compositions.

This apart, the other factor that caused Persian to fall into insignificance was Arabic, which was thought as sacred, as it was the religious language of Islam. As already mentioned, the Safavid kings, had invited religious scholars from Jabal-i-Amel (Syria), Iraq and Southern Coast of Persian Gulf, who were Arabic speaking and profound in Arabic literature and religious studies. They were specially invited to propagate the Shiite sect. Shah Ismail patronized them, because he had great reverance for them and they, too in return, showed him great esteem. This reciprocal attitude resulted in the popularity of the Arabic languages like that of Turkish and therefore many books on religion were produced in it.[1]

This is also noteworthy here that the titles that were given in Persia during the Safavid period, to army officers and courtiers were mostly Turkish, like: Ounchi Bashi (Chief of the supplies), Eil Begi (chief of the clan), Biglar

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1. This should be noted here that in the early days of Safavid period, Persian was commonly used, all over the country as the official language. The ministers, secretaries, scribes and the poets at Safavid court were Persian speaking and were named as Tat or Tajik.

Begi (the chief of the heads of the clans), Chumakchi Bashi (the head of the bakers), Sursat Bashi (Chamberlain), Qurchi Bashi (the minister of war), Qullar Aqasi Bashi (chief of the slaves), Ishak Bashi (chief of the protocol), Qurchi Lar (head of the royal guard) and Diwan Begi Bashi (stock Keeper of the house-hold).

At the same time, in Hindustan at the court of Mughal kings and also earlier, titles were formed of Persian words in combination with those Arabic or Mongolian words which wre commonly used in Persia and Transoxiana. Some of them were as Mir-i-Jumla (Steward or the chief of all the state affairs), Bakhshi (secretary or pay master), Hazari (the officer of one thousand footmen or horse riders), Khan-i-Jahan (the lord of the world), Khan-i-Dauran (the lord of the age) Khan-i-Khanan (the chief of the lords), Asaf Khan (the grand vizier), Amanat Khan (the incharge of securities), Mahabat Khan (the master of authority), Shaista Khan (the lord of honour), Shahnawaz Khan (kings favourite lord) and the like.

The Mughal kings in Hindustan adopted Persian words as their titles and gave Persian names to their children. Some titles of the kings were: Humayun (auspicious), Jahangir (the capturer of the world), Shah-i-Jahan (the king of the world), Aurangzib (glorifier of the throne), Jahandar (Holder of the world), Shahryar (the protector of the country), Khusrau (monarch) Farrukh Siyar (of auspicious disposition) and Niku Siyar (of decent disposition). The names that they gave to their children were Dara (Darius), Dara Shukuh (of the glory of Darius), Kam Bakhsh (fruition giver), Parviz (the victorious), The names and the titles of the imperial ladies were: Nurjahan (the illumination of the world),

Jahan Ara (Adornment of the world), Roshan Ara (the adornment or the illumination and the like).

At the same time, at the court of Mughals in Hindustan most of the titles were such as were commonly used in Persia and Transoxiana.

The Chroniclers at the Safavid court, used Turkish calendar, like Sichqan Iil Adil, Bars Iil and Tushqan Iil etc. But, in Hindustan the court historians used Persian as well as Islamic calender. Akbar ordered to set a solar calendar, which was named as *Tarikh-i-Ilahi*. This was used as an official calendar and the names of all its months and the days were Persian, like Farvardin, Urdibahisht Khurdad... etc.

"Kalam ul Muluk, Muluk ul Kalam" (the language spoken by the monarch, is the monarch of all the langauges). Taking into consideration this Arabic saying the Persian poets of the Safavid period realized that they were being dominated by Turkish at the Persian court and Arabic being the sacred language of Islam had won reverence. Under this situation they thought it wise to migrate to Hindustan, which at the time was the cradle of Persian, art architecture and literature. This was the charm which brought them to Hindustan where they were received warmly.[1]

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1. *Akbar Nama,* Vol.II, p.13.

TRADE

The fact should be borne in mind that economic condition of Hindustan was for better than that of Persia during the Safavid period. Commercial relations have always played very important role in improving the economic condition of a people. Therefore, many persons belonging to different nations preferred to migrate from their home lands for the amelioration of their financial condition. The Persian traders, too, having the knowledge of the prosperity of Hindustan, were always eager to have trade relations with this country. Many traders came exclusively for the purpose of trade, but, as some of them, had poetic genius too they also came on invitation to the Mughal court. Many of them remained here, while others went back laden with gold.

Those who came for the purpose of trade were:

Mir Ali Reza Agah of Mash-had, joined the court of Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun (928-962 A.H./1521-1554 A.D.)[1]

Tajiri Khansari came to Hindustan in 1000 A.H./1591 A.D.[2]

Haji Abarqui migrated to Hindustan during the region of Shah Tahmasb Safavi (930 A.H./1524 A.D.)[3]

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1. *Maqalat Ush Shoara*, p.15.

2. *Arafat*, fol.163.

3. *Fihrist-i-Majlis* (The catalogue of Persian manuscripts at Iranian Parliament library), Vol.III, Tehran, 1321 A.H., pp.251-254.

Huzni Isfahani migrated to Hindustan, but later shifted to Haidarabad (Deccan) in 987 A.H./1579 A.D. and joined the service of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.[1]

Haidar Harvi known as Haidar Kuluch, pen named Sipahi was in the service of Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun. He died in 958 A.H./1551 A.D.[2]

Haidar Tabrizi came to Hindustan in 972 A.H./1564 A.D. and died in 1002 A.H./1593 A.D.[3]

Fusuni Qummi reached the Deccan in 1003 A.H./1594 A.D., but joined the court of Akbar in 1010 A.H./1601 A.D. He died in 1028 A.H./1618 A.D.[4]

Mir Fahmi Astarabadi came to Hindustan in the middle of 10th country of the Islamic era (late sixteenth century of the Christian era) and passed away at Delhi.[5]

Fahmi Tehrani migrated to Hindustan in 972 A.H./1564 A.D.[6]

Qadri Shirazi came to Hindustan in 982 A.H./1574 A.D.[7]

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1. *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.II, pp.414-417; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Lucknow, 1869 A.D., Vol.I, pp.303-304, *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.III, p.219; Majmaul Khawas, pp.162-164.

2. *Tuhfa-i-Sami*, p.114; *Majma ul Khawas*, p.168; *Tarikh-i-Sindh Masumi*, p.296; *Tazkrah-i-Nasrabadi*, p.496, *Maqalat ush Shoara*, p.185.

3. *Ma-asir-i-Rahimi*, Vol.III, pp.1328-1347, *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.III, pp.243-245. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*.

4. *Tazkirah-i-Maikhana*, pp.472-473, *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, Fol.568.

5. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.III, pp.298-299, *Majma ul Shoara-i-Jahangiri* pp.274/94; Arafat fol.576.

6. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol.328.

7. *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.I, pp.251-252, *Arafat ul Ashiqin* fol.597-598; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, p.316.

Kami Sabzevari came in 995 A.H./1586 A.D. from Sistan to Hindustan and lived for twenty years in the service of Abdour Rahim Khan-i-Khanan.[1]

Gulshani Kashi, died in 974 A.H./1566 A.D.[2]

Mansur Sa-uji Tabrizi was in the service of Muhammad Bairam Khan (d.968 A.H./1560 A.D.).[3]

Natiqi Astarabadi, died at Banaras (Varanasi) in 1010 A.D./1601 A.D.[4]

Payami Kirmani was in the service of Burhan Nizam Shah II (999-1003 A.H./1590-1594 A.D.). He died in 1000 A.H./1591 A.D.[5]

Ashki Qummi, died at Banaras (Varanasi) in 972 A.H./1564 A.D.[6]

Jamila Khanum.[7]

Travels and peaceful life:

From among all other motives that attracted the Persians towards Hindustan were travelling in this vast and variegated land and living comfortably at some peaceful place. This fertile land, always green, has been called a paradise on earth by Persian poets. Tolerance and non violence are such

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1. *Khair ul Bayan*, Fol. 323-324, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Lucknow 1869 A.D., Vol.I, p.317, *Maasir-i-Rahimi* Vol.III, pp.863-887, *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.II, pp.293-294, *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, Fols. 625-626.

2. *Tuhfa-i-Sami*, p.157.

3. *Muzakkir-i-Ahbab*, pp.471-473.

4. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fols. 762-763, died in 1001 A.H./1592 (see *Haft Iqlim*).

5. *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Naval Kishore, Lucknow, 3rd discourse, III Rauza (Cahpter), pp.155-156, *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fols. 158-159.

6. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, p.316, *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol.116, *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.III, p.186.

7. *Sham-i-Ghariban*, p.70, *Ruz-i-Roshan*, p.628.

characteristics, in addition to other virtues, which have always attracted the people from all over the world. It was for this reason that many travellers came here and settled down in this land of peace and prosperity. Some of them got busy in commerce and trade, while others preferred to associate themselves with some prominent noble or joined the royal court.

Kalim Kashani (d.0161 A.H./1650 A.D.), the poet laureate at the court of the Mughal emperor Shahjahan (1037-1068 A.H./1628-1651 A.D.) says:

Ze Hind didah-i-bad dur, ishratatanst,

Dil-i-shakufta-o-tab-i-gushadah arzanst.

May Hind be preserved from evil eye. She is your joy the cheerful hearts and pleasant minds are in abundance there.

Sawad-i-Azam-i-Iqlim-i-afiyat, Hindast

Sarab-i-inja sirab zab-i-haiwanast

(The vast continent of Hindustan is the region of prosperity.

Here, the mirage is satiated with the elixir of immortal life.

Chira naguyamash darul aman-i-hadisai

Ki Hind Kashti-i-Nuh O zamana tufan ast

(Why should I not call it a abode of safety, (when) it keeps away from accidents?

Hindustan is Noahs' Ark, while Time is the Deluge

Zahi Jahan-i-murawwat ki har gharib inja

hazar sal bemanad, aziz mihmanast

(Waht a good world of manliness (is this land). If a stranger lives for a thousand years, he is taken warmly as a guest).

Tawan bahisht-i-duwum guftanash be in mana

Ke har ke rafta azin bustan pashiman ast[1]

[This (country) can be called the second paradise, in the sense that who ever left this perfumed garden feels repetant]. Ashraf Khurasani says:

ru be suyi Hind Shabha dar vatan Khabida ast

Har ki aish-o ishrat-i-Hindustan ra dida ast

[He who has seen the joy and mirth of Hindustan, sleeps at night, in his home land, with his face (towards this country)]

Dar Iran nist juz Hind arzu biruz garan ra

Tamam-i-ruz bashad hasrat-i-shab ruza daran ra

[In Iran there is no longing in (the hearts of) destitute except (to make voyage) to Hind (Hidustan)].

Their state is like those fasting persons, who spend their whole day waiting for night)[2]

It was for this reason that many Persian travellers came to this land. Among them the renowned ones were; Ghairati Shirazi,[3] Vahidi,[4] Yamini Astrabadi,[5] Navidi Turbati[6] and Safya Safahani.[7]

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1. *Divan-i-Kalim-i-Kashani*, edited by Mahdi Afshar, Tehran, 1362 A.H./1983 A.D., p.22.

2. *Divan-i-Ashraf Khurasani*, Astan-i-Qods library, MSS. No.348, Cat.No.7, pp. 363-367.

3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, p.314; *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol.448, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.505-506 and Haft Iqlim, Vol.I, pp. 249-251.

4. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol.786 and *Subh-i-Gulshan*, p.578.

5. *Masir-i-Rahimi*, Vol.III, pp. 1430-1435.

6. *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol.III, p.1635; *Ruz-i-Roshan*, p.475, *Sham-i-Ghariban*, p.156; *Tazkera-i-Shoara-i-Kashmir* by Islah Mirza, Lahore 1346 A.H./1967 A.D., p. 653.

7. *Haft Iqlim*, Vol. II, p.190 and *Montakhab Ut Tawarikh* Vol.III, pp.345-346.

The persons who accompanied Humayun from Persia to Hindustan

As has been mentioned earlier, Humayun stayed in Persia for about ten years. During his stay there, he met several artists, literary figures and the persons specifically renowned in one field or the other.

Some of them accompanied him to Hindustan. When he regained his lost throne he treated them so generously that many others were attracted when he firmly established his rule in this country. Among the persons whom he specially invited were Mir Saiyid Ali, the celebrated poet of his age and Abdul Samad, the dexterous calligrapher. The former was awarded by him the title of Shirin Qalam (the eloquent pen man) and the latter was entitled Nadir ul Mulk (a rare person in the country).[1] Though the rule of Humayun, after recapturing the throne, lasted for a very short period from 2nd of the month Shaban 962 A.H./22nd June 1555 A.D. to 11th RabiulAwwal 963 A.H./21 Jan. 1556 A.D.), but the artists who either had come with him or were invited later joined the court of his son, Akbar. The warm reception he accorded encouraged many a Persian scholar to leave his country as a result of which migration reached its zenith. In fact, things were so favourable for the Persian in Hindustan that any person, belonging to any class, creed and sect could live freely. Abdul Razzaq Kashani, the son-in-law of Mulla Sadra, the renowned philosopher of the Safavid period, wrote this verse in praise of Hindustan.

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1. *Tazkirah-i-Humayun O Akbar,* 1360 A.H./1941 A.D., p.

Habbaza Hind Kab-i-hajat

Khassa yaran-i-afiyat Jura

[How wonderful is Hind (Hindustan), the Mecca for the fulfilment of desires. Particularly for those whose seek prosperity].

Har Ki Shud mustate zi fazl o hunar

Raftan-i-Hind wajibast ura[1]

[Who ever became profound in art and learning, it is must for him to go to Hind (Hindustan)]

Ali Quli Salim says:

Nist dar Iran zamin saman-i-tahsil-i-kamal

Ta niamad suyi Hindustan hina rangin nashud.[2]

[There is not any means to attain perfection in the country of Iran. The henna (Egyptian privat) could not develop its dye, till it did not come to Hindustan].

Hasan Mash-hadi says:

Chun ham adadand Hind O maujud O Jahan

Na amadah ra be Hind, maujud madan

[As the numerical value of Hind, Maujud (existing person) and Jahan (the world are the same, therefore, who did not come to Hind (Hindustan) should not be considered living].

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1. *Diwan-i-Abutalib Kalim Kashani*, edited by Partow Bayzavi, Khayyam Publication, Tehran, 1336 A.H., p.32.

2. *Tazkira-i-Nasrabadi*, p.129.

Madum be Hind ayad-O maujud shavad

Maujud shavad Kasi ki ayad be jahan[1]

[A non existing being comes to Hind (Hindustan) and becomes a living person. Existing being is he, who comes in this world]

Sui Hindustan ravam Kanja

Kar-i-ahl-i-hunar niku rafta

Ki sakha-O karam zi ahli zaman

Be zamin-i-siyah faru rafta.

[I am going to Hindustan, because, there the affaiars of men of art are well settled.

The generosity and benevolence of the people of the age has gone to the country, the soil of which is black.[2]

Humayun returned from Persia to Hindustan in 961 A.H./1535 A.D. At the time of his return according to Bayazid Bayat, the following persons accompanied him: Elahi Shirazi,[3] Bahadur Shibani,[4] Sadiq Harvi,[5] Baba

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1. *Tazkirah-i-Nasrabadi*, pp. 129-130 *Tuhfa-i-Sami*, MSS No.F/896. National Library Tehran.

2. The soil of Deccan (South India) at most places is reddish black. It is for this reason that the kiln pots of that region are black.

3. *Akbar Nama*, Vol.III, p.816.

4. *Tazkirah-i-Humayun O Akbar*, p.57, *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol.II, pp.96-98; *Akbar Nama*, Vol.I, pp. 218-219; *Montakhab Ut Tawarikh*, Vol.III, pp. 238-240; *Haft Iqlim*, Vol I, pp. 464-467; *Arafat*, fol.156; *Maasir ul Umara*, Vol.I, pp. 384-387.

5. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol. 398; *Tazkirah-i-Humayun Wa Akbar*, pp. 186; *Akbar Nama*, Vol.III, pp.701, 720-724; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Lucknow, ed.1889 A.D. Vol.I, pp. 280. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.435, *Maasir Ul Umara*, Vol.II, pp.724-729.

Dustbakshi pen named Tarami,[1] Khawaja Jalal Uddin Mahmud Ubahi,[2] Shaeikh Yusuf Juli,[3] Muhammad Ali Muhtasib, Sheikh Nazar Turkistani, Ibrahim Ishik Agha (Aga)[4] Saqi Tuq Begi, Baba dust qurbegi, Mir Yusuf Khazinadar, Hasan Ali Ishik Agha, Shahwali Bakawal, Ali Dust Yaswal, Ali Muhammad Qanduzi, Mihtar Wasil, Mihtar Vakila,[5] Mihtar Kuchak Fatah, Kumash Fuqantar, Maqsud Bangali,[6] Mihtar Quli and Aqil Sultan.[7]

Ilahi Shirazi:

Hakim Sadruddin Shirazi, pen named Illahi, was the son of Hakim Fakhruddin Muhammad. He was one of the renowned physicians during the reign of Shah Tahmasb Safavi. After completing his studies in medicine, he turned to mathematics and various branches of this subject. In the year 1011 A.H./1602 A.D. he came to Hindustan with Hakim Rukna-i-Kashi. This is confirmed by the account recorded by Allami Abul Fazl in the forty seventh year of accession of Akbar. He writes :

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1. *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.III, p.202; *Arafat ul Ashiqin* Fol.418; *Subh-i-Gulshan*, p.260, *Akbar Nama*, Vol.I, p.222. It has been written about him that, "Baba Dust Bakhshi was distinguished in the system of notation and counting based on words and renowned for his merits. He was always engaged in governmental affairs and showed his efficiency in different branches".

2. *Masir ul Umara*, Vol.I, pp.615-618.

3. This has been written in *Akbar Nama* (Vol.I, p.223.) "Sheikh Ahmad Yasvi had some remarkable qualities, possessed some extraordinary characteristics and stood on exalted position. He died in 562 A.H./166 A.D. at Yasi, a town in Transoxiana, se: *Safinat Ul Aulia* printed at Agra, 1835 A.D. and Khazinat ul Asfia, Vol.I, p.351.

4. *Akbar Nama*, Vol.I, p.223.

5. Ibid, Vol.I, p.224.

6. Ibid, Vol.p.222.

7. For detailed information see: *Tazkirah-i-Humayun Wa Akbar*, p. 57.

> "The leader of good luck held the reins of the fortune of Hakim Rukna and Hakim Sadra and led them from Iraq to Hindustan the house of prosperity. By joining the service of the emperor, kind to homeless (strangers) persons, they became successful in obtaining their desires. The former had acquired knowledge in the science of medicine and was also deeply inclined to rhythmical compositions, and hence rendered exalted service in the form of poetry. The latter was profound in philosophy and also had the knowledge of medicine and had full command over prose writing and poetical compositions. Both his mind and appearance were well-adorned.[1]

Hakim Sadruddin also served as an apprentice of Hakim Ali Gilani, one of the trust-worthy physicians at the court of Akbar and completed his studies in medicine under his guidance. During the reign of Jahangir (1014-1037 A.H./1605-1627 A.D.) he was considered as one of the reliable physicians. After the death of Hakim Ali Gilani (1018 A.H./1609 A.D.), he was honoured with the title of Masih-u-zaman (The Messiah of his time). During the reign of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1037-1068/1628-1651 A.D.), he was appointed to present to the emperor the repeated petitions. In the year 1040 A.H. A.H./1630 A.D. he retired and served as physician. He was afterwards, appointed at Surat Sea port and promoted to the rank of three thousand

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1. *Akbar Nama*, Vol.III, p.816.

(Soldiers). At that time he was receiving sixty thousand rupees annually as stipend. During his stay in Hindustan he performed several holy pilgrimages to Mecca and returned to this country to serve at the courts of the Mughal kings. Some years before his death, he spent the winter season at Lahore and summer in Kashmir. While staying at Kashmir he died in 1060 A.H./1649 A.D. Hakim Hamadani composed the chrongram of his death in the following verse :

ze dil tarikh-i-fautash Khastam, guft

tabib-i-dard-i-dilha az mian raft[1] (1060)

(I asked my heart the date of his death. It said: the physician of the pains of hearts is gone).

Adham Qazvini:[2]

He was a profound musician, came to Hindustan during the reign of Humayun, when he recaptured the throne in 692 A.H./1555 A.D.

Asir Varamini:[3]

Came to Hindustan during the reign of Akbar (963-1014 A.H./1556-1605 A.D.). After travelling about four or five years, he finally associated himself with Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, one of the nobles at the court of Akbar. Though he was a renowned mathematician and celebrated astronomer, yet he was appointed the superintendent of petitions. He died in 1009 A.H./1600

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1. For further information see also : *Jahangir Nama*, pp.89, 151, 173, 261, 380 and 381. *Shahjahan Nama*, Vol.III, p. 393-394. ibid. Vol.II, pp. 347-348. *Masir Ul Umara*, Vol.I, pp.577-579. *Tazkirah-i-Shoara-i-Kashmir*, by Husamuddin Rashidi, 4 Vols, Lahore, 1982 A.D., Vol.IV, pp. 1752-1753.

2. *Subh-i-Gulshan*, p.22.

3. See: *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol.III, p.855-862. *Arafat*, fol. 114, *Subh-i-Gulshan*, by Saiyid Ali Khan, edited by Muhammad Abdul Majid, Bohpal, 1295 A.H., p.22, and *Makhzan-ul-Gharayeb*, by Ahmad Ali Khan Sindilavi, Lahore, 1968, p.70.

A.D. at Junapur, a town in the vicinity of Barar, the Deccan (present Andhra Pradesh).

Asiri Razi[1]

Came to Hindustan during the reign of Akbar and served as one of the secretaries at his court for a while. He went afterwards to the Deccan to meet his elder brother, Qazi Beg who was at Ahmad Nagar and served as the chief administrator of the state of Murtaza Nizam Shah, pen named Diwana (972-996 A.H./1560-1587 A.D.) and there he died in 982 A.H./1574 A.D.

Muhammad Asghar Ashraf Khurasani[2] was profound in the arts of calligraphy and literary composition. he came to Hindustan during the reign of Humayuin (when he had regained his lost empire) and was awarded the title of Mir Munshi (the chief secretary). In the year 963 A.H./1555 A.D. he was granted the title of Ashraf Khan (The excellent Khan) by Akbar. About him Badauni writes:

> "In all the seven continents he was the master of all the calligraphers of the world and came in the category of the trustworthy nobles." He died in 983 A.H./1575 A.D. on account of unsuitable climate.

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, p.316., *Majma ul Khawas*, p.82, *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.III, p.61, *Muntakhab Ut Tawarikh*, Vol.III, p.182., *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol. 592, *Maktab-i-Wuqu*, pp.9-14.

2. *Akbar Nama*, Vol.II, p.144 and Vol.III, p.160, Tabaqat-i-akbari, Vol.II, p.153, *Muntakhab Ut Tawarikh*, Vol.I, pp. 13-16 and Vol.III, pp.181-182, *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.II, p.208, *Majma Ul Shoara-i-Jahangiri*, by Qati' Harvi, Karachi, 1979 A.D., p.53, *Araft ul Ashiqin*, fol.116 and *Maasir Ul Umara*, Vol.I, pp.53-57.

Khwaja Amin bin Khwaja Ahmad Razi[1] was the celebrated literary figure of the second half of the Christian era). ***Haft Iqlim*** is his most excellent work. This biography of men of letters was compiled by him during the six years time (from 996 to 1002 A.H./1587-1583 A.D.).

Bari Isfahani: was a highly skilled calligrapher of Persian script and specifically followed the style of Mulla Sultan Ali Mash-had, (d. 919 A.H./1513 A.D.) the most renowned calligrapher of the Safavid period. He died in 1000 A.H./1591 A.D.[2]

Mir Farighi Shirazi, was the brother of Mulla Fathullah Shirazi, the renowned scholar of arithmomancy associated with the court of Akbar. His son Mir Taqi was the successor of Mulla Fathullah, as he was a profound scholar of astronomy and astrology. Baduni writes that Mir Taqi used to say, "In my clan only I this very brother of mine and Shah Fath Ullah belong to the sunnite sect, while the rest are enthusiastic shiites." Farighi died before Fath Ullah some time at the end of the tenth century of the Islamic era (17th century of Christian era). Taqi Auhadi has mentioned "His burial place is at Agra".[3]

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1. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, **fol.126.**

2. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, Fol.198; *Ruz-i-Roshan* , by Muhammad Muzaffar Husain Saba, Tehran, 1343 A.H., p.148. The compiler of this Tazkerah (biography of poets) is of the opinion that Bari's title was Jalal and was known as Jala-i-Isfahani and was the descendant of Fazil-i-Rozbahan.

3. For further detail See : *Muntakhab Ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p.291-293, *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fols.561.

Muhammad Beeg Fasuni Tabrizi:[1]

Was an astronomer of excellent degree and also a very good ornate prose writer. He was appointed by Akbar as the court astronomer. During the reign of Jahangir he served as the vindicator of the rights of prince Khurram (latter called emperor Shahjahan). While serving in this position he wrote a treatise on arithmetic and compiled a book on lexicography entitled *"Miftah ul Maani* (the key to the vocabulary), He died at Allahabad in 1027 A.H./1617 A.D.

Khwaja Inayat Ullah Fursi Shidani:

An excellent calligrapher and highly skilled in writing Nastaliq styles gained favour of Akbar when he entered the territory of his empire and was appointed the chief of the calligraphers at the imperial library. After the death of Akbar, during the reign of Jahangir he also served as librarian and was honoured with the title of "Maktub Khan" (the chief scribe).[2]

He also wrote an epic, entitled "Nasab nam -i- Qutbshah" (the genealogy of Qutbshahi dynasty), consisting of fifteen thousand verses. In this epic he has mentioned the accounts of the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (d.1020 A.H../1611 A.D.) It is evident from the work that after the death of Akbar he went to Gol Cunda and joined the court of Muhammad Quli. He completed this work in 1019 A.H./1610 A.D. and after the death of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah he joined the court of Jahangir.

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Lucknow edition 1896 A.D., Vol.I, p.318, *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.III, pp. 240-241, *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol.556-557.

2. *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.I, p.302, *Muntakhab Ut Tawarikh*, Vol.III, pp. 283-284, *Jahangir Nama* pp.268 and 305.

Qasim Khan Juwaini son of Murad Juwaini, was awarded a high position by Akbar and was appointed as the commander in chief in the Punjab province. He died at Lahore in 1010 A.H./1601 A.D.[1]

Nazmi Tabrizi was a poet during the reign of Akbar and an excellent expert of precious stones.[2]

Yusuf Mashhadi joined the service of Akbar as an officer of five thousand soldiers, but being trustworthy was soon promoted to very high ranks. Subsequently in the year 996 A.H./1587 A.D. he went as the governor of Kashmir, in 1004 A.H.1/595 A.D. was appointed the tutor of prince Murad, the second son of Akbar.[3] The emperor was so much impressed by him that he married his cousin (the daughter of Mirza Askari (d.961 A.H./1553 A.D.) to him. He died in 1010 A.H./1061 A.D. at Jalnapur, a district in Deccan (present South India) and his body was sent to Mashhad in Persia to be buried there.

Nuruddin Muhammad Tarkhan. Though, his ancestors belonged to Mash-had, the sacred city, yet, he was born at Jam. He was a profound scholar of astrology, astronomy and geometry. He got the honour to join the service of Babur, alongwith Qazi Burhan-i-Khafi, After his death he become one of the close associates of Humayun, the king. When he was exiled he went to Persia in

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1. For further detail see: *Akbar Nama,* Vol.III, p.798, In this book his account has been given under Mir Murad Chuli and Mir Murad Juni, which is the corrupt form of Juwaini, See also : *Arafat ul Ashiqin,* fol.595.

2. *Muntakhab Ut Tawarikh,* Vol.III, p.377.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* Vol.II, p.435, *Akbar Nama,* Vol.III, p.724, *Tarikh-i-Farishta,* second discourse, p.240, *Jahangir Nama,* p.260-261, *Arafat ul Ashiqin,* fol.818, *Maasir ul Umara,* Vol.III, p.314-321, *Subh-i-gulshan,* p.618. (in this Tazkirah, he has been mentioned under Yusuf Dehlavi.)

(950-51 A.H./1543 A.D.) Nuruddin Muhammad Tarkhan was with him. As, Humayun was deeply interested in astrology, therefore he discussed this subject with him. He adopted Nuri as his noma de plume derived from his own name. He was commonly called Nuri Safiduni, for the reason that Safidun a district in the environs of Delhi, was his fief. Akbar, taking into consideration his services, first awarded the title of Khan and afterwards also conferred upon him another title, Tarkhan. He was also allowed to beat the drum at his palace gate and keep the standard. In the year 994 A.H./1547 A.D. at the time when Akbar was at Atak, Sindh he appointed him Mutawalli (the administrator) of the mausoleum of Humayun. He died in the same year.[1]

Mysticism and the migrant Mystics:

From the study of the religious institutions that flourished during the Safavi period, it was evident that the Safavis after gaining power and predominance delegated much authority to the clergy class so far as the religious and political administration was concerned. In course of their struggle for power the Qazilbashis had, to a very great extent, enlisted the cooperation and support of the mystic orders but when they were all in all and satisfactorily saddled they showed utter indifference to them. Most of the members of the mystic order who had taken recourse to a life of seclusion, self-abandomement and self-abregation became the target of riducule and sarcasm, and much literature rejecting their doctrine was produced.

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1. *Akbar Nama*, Vol.I, pp.47, 220-221 and 223, *Maasir ul Umara*, Vol.I, p.478-481, *Arafat ul Ashiqin* fol.164 and *Tazkerah-i-Ulama-i-Hindu*, pp246-247.

Taking into consideration the fact that the Islamic mysticism is in conflict with the teachings of Islam on a number of points, many a thinker and orientalist engaged himself in further investigation to find out the source of mysticism and what factors were responsible for the penetration of these elements into the body of Islamic teachings. They have diverse and different views on this topic. Some of them hold that Islamic mysticism owes to the influence of Hindu doctrine and argue that India, from times immemorial, has been the breeding ground of mysticism and that this ideology has sprung from there and reached and penetrated into other regions. For example the concept of "Mukti" in the Hindu doctrine has been defined as "release from the transmigrational cycle", and "Nirvana" in the Buddhist faith means "absolute annihilation" and attainment of salvation. This stage is reached through abstinence and abandonment of all worldly desires and lusts. The Buddha himself a prince denounced and discarded all princely comforts and worldly pleasures for the sake of attaining "Nirvana" and persuaded his desciples too to this way of life.

Some other scholars are of the opinion that the Islamic mysticism is the product of Christian doctrines and monasticism and observe that after the propagation of Islam in Syria, Iraq and Egypt which had been the cradle of Christian monasticism, the Muslims came in contact with the Christian monks and travellers as a consequence of which they succumbed to the Nestorian monks who practised asceticism, celibacy and absolute severence of relation with the world. This intermingling gave birth to Islamic monasticism.

Still others take Islamic mysticism as the brain-child of Greek philosophers and argue that Plato based his school on the foundation of

Illumintionism and believed that man could attain perfect wisdom and knowledge only through self-purification, revelation and manifestation. The cynics consisting of a school of Greek philosophers observed that mans happiness and excellence consisted in the fact that he gave up all mundane temptations. Another school of Greek thinkers known as Stoics also believed in a type of unity of Being and conisdered self abandonement and freedom from worldly bondage as binding.

Some of the scholars think that Islamic mysticism is born of the concepts of the neo-Platonists whose centre was Alexandria in Egypt as their ideology was very much akin to the teachings of mystics. The concepts of unity of Being, revelation, manifestation, travelling and globe-trotting with a view to raching the stage of unison, love and annihilation have been some of the salient features of this school of thought. As neo-Platonism owes much to the ancient Iran, so some of the mystic thoughts might have been derived from the Persian thinkers, Pehlavis and the doctrines of Mani also.

The impact of Confucius, Lao Tse and other Chinese philosophers has also been noticed on Islamic mysticism by some scholars since their teachings advocate self-abandonment, abstention from struggle and acquisition of knowledge.

A group, of which the Sufis form a part, proclaim that mysticism itself is the reality and spirit of Islam and none other than that, because Islam considers worldly love and pleasures as the fountain spring of all sins, has looked down upon temptations and carnal desires and has praised abstinence and piety. Verses from the glorious Quran and traditions of the holy Prophet are quoted as

evidences to prove the point that Islam, too, denounces and rejects this mundane life and puts strees upon its transitoriness. They also say that the holy Prophet, Ali and other close companions of the holy Prophet have emphasised abstention from worldly pleasures and have left no stone unturned in this regard.

But this is an admitted fact that the concepts and thoughts that have been referred to above, as a result of mixing up of the Muslims with other religious communities and the translation of books, reached the Muslim world and got amalgamated with the Islamic piety. This particular circumstance provided a breeding-ground for the formation and gradual development of Islamic mysticism.

Mysticism made its appearance at a time when the Islamic horizon was overcast with dark clouds of discord and bickerings; every where there was chaos and confusion, destruction and devestation. The Muslims had turned their attention towards gathering their weal and wealth. This state of affairs led to the popularity and propagation of mysticism among Muslims. It also won the support of kings, nobles, officials and those people who, without being indicted and blamed as irreligious, always try to be free from the fetters of religion. Further, political upheavals, general massacres and blood shed and the beastliness of the Mongols and the Tartars at whose hands the Muslims had grievously suffered and bore irreparable loss also drove them to monasteries.

The proposition that 'Mysticism alone is the essence and spirit of Islam' is, in fact, absolutely unacceptable because if mysticism consits in piety and asceticism alone, this is to be found in the Islamic scheme of things. The Quran and the practice of the Prophet bear testimony to it.. But the mysticism which

appeared in the last years of the first half of the second century A.H. in the world of Islam and evolved and gradually developed itself into a distinct coterie became a cause of discord and diversion among the Muslims and conflicted with Islam on most of the points since Islam is a scientific religion and emphasises moderation; has duly taken into consideration the problems pertaining to soul and body, the world and the hereafter. Even excesses in piety and prayers have been inveighed against. Islam also criticises a life of seclusion and extreme asceticism. One of the sayings of the holy prophet reads: "Asceticism is my pride". By this is meant human excellence and proximity to God which is the ultimate goal of all men, even of the holy Prophet. Contrary to this, asceticism rejects the worldly life as has been mentioned above. Asceticism also drives man to infidelity and atheism.

Though there are traditions of prophet Muhammad in which attachment to the world has been disregarded and the world has been called the source spring of all sorts of mischiefs because attachment to the worldly life prevents a person from attaining spiritual perfection, the ultimate goal of human life. Otherwise, if the world and its materialistic things give opportunity fo spiritual development in the way of becoming of an ideal person, it is not discreditable but has been considered admirable instead.

Besides there are several other traditions, in which stress has been laid on making effort for the acquisition of knowledge, marriage, active participation in social affiars and maintenance of an equipoise between spiritual and mundane life. The pious and virtuous life of Prophet Muhammad and that of his companions' is not to be taken as a model because, their piety was in the frame

work of the Glorious Quran and the requisites of the economic conditions of that age. The prophet and most of his companions condemned extremity, extravagance, prodigality, accumulation of wealth like pre-Islamic Arabs, hoarding goods like Jews and living monastic life like some of christians. Their main emphasis was on the creation of a society which must be based on theism and its members observe sincerity, honesty and piety rather than accumulate wealth. History bears witness that whenever devout Muslims (tried to surpass prophet Mohammad or Ali in piety and) tried to exceed the limits marked by the sacred scripture or the traditions of the prophet, they were checked. Besides, Islam has given strict instruction to the effect that every worship should be for God and that too in the frame work of the principles laid down by the prophet, which were revealed to him. Any person deviating from the principles laid down by God and the traditions of the prophet, would be considered a heretic and be punished on the Day of Resurrection.

During the Safavi period there were persons like Qazi Nurullah Shustari, Khwaja Muhammad Dihdar Shirazi, pen named Fani and Muhammad Sufi Mazandarani who were considered celeberated sages of the second half of tenth century of Islamic era (17th century of Christian era), but, if they saw any person dishevelled and unkempt calling him self mendicant, Qalendar, or wandering darvish, they reproached him and considered him insane.

In any case, people of Persia through travellers and traders, had learnt this much about Hindustan, that songs of Divine love were sung by the devotees of Lord Krishna and that non-violence was observed by the followers of Lord Buddha. They were informed that people lived so peacefully and tolerantly that

no one objected to the goings on in a neighbour's house. These were the factors that attracted many Persians, particularly the saints and sages, like Abul Hasan Ali Ibn-i-Usman bin Abu Ali Hajviri, Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti and several of their disciples. Most of the saints migrated to Hindustan in the pre-Safavi period. During the Safavi period things were even worse than ever for mystics, whereas in Hindustan the environment was very much favourable for them. They were received with open arms and given all sorts of facilities whenever they decided to settle down. Some of them were so much indifferent to worldly honours that they did not accept the invitation of any noble or even of the king. The saints and sages who came to Hindustan are briefly described below:

Qazi Nurullah Shushtri:

Mir Nurullah Shushtari was born at Shushtar, a town, in 956 A.H./1549 A.D. His father, Mir Muhammad Sharif was a renowned scholar of rational and traditional sciences, which he had learnt from the lectures of Ibrahim bin Sulaiman Qatifi.

Mir Nur Ullah acquired the knowledge of rational and traditional sciences from his father. After completing his studies in these subjects, he attended the lectures of Amir Safiuddin Muhammad and Mir Jalal Uddin Muhammad, who were the celeberated scholars of their age. At the age of twenty four, he wanted to go to Najaf, a sacred city for Shiite Muslims in Iraq, for Islamic studies. But, as there were some obstacles in his way, he gave up the idea to go to that town and went to Shiraz instead. There he benefited from the lectures of Mullah Muhammad Shah and Mulla Mirza Jan, the profound scholars of Islamic studies.

In the year 979 A.H./1571 A.D. he went to Mash-had to study religious sciences. There he attended the lectures of Maulana Abdul Wahed Shustari, the renowned Scholar of jurisprudence. There he stayed for eleven years for the purpose of higher studies. In the year 983 A.H./1555 A.D. proceeded towards Hindustan, alongwith his son Mir Saiyid Sharif Shustari.

The two motives that caused Qazi Nur ullah to migrate to Hindustan are worth mentioning here:

1. The chaotic conditions of Khurasan as a consequence of the repeated attacks of Uzbaks on that province. This made the life of this peace loving scholar miserable there, as his son, Mir Siyid Sharif has mentioned in a verse, given below:

Zan ru be Hind miparadam murgh-i-dil ki jan
begirifta az kharaba o ma'muram arzust.[1]

The bird of my heart is flying towards Hindustan for the reason that my soul has become tired of that ruin. (Now), it desires an inhabited place.

The second was the invitation of the nobles of Shiite group, who wanted the propagation of the tenets of their sect and thus to check the Shiite Muslims to be amalgamated with others. Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi, entitled Mujaddid-i-alfasani (the revivalist in the second millenium) the strong supporter of the Sunnite sect and strong opponent of Akbar, regarding religious matters, writes:

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1. *Tazkira-i-Lataif ul Khiyal* (A biography of poets entitled "the delicate thoughts") by Muhammad bin Muhammad A'rif Darabi Shirazi p.25, *Risala-i-Firdaus* pp.37-39.

"Nurullah Shustari who excelled among all the Shiah religious scholars was invited from Iran by (the grand) vizir who sent a handsome amount in cash and persusded him very much.

When the minister realized that his words had influenced the Sultan (i.e., Akbar), he decided that the next day when he found the Sultan in pleasent and joyful (mood) he would convert him to the abominable Shiite sect and at the same time mandate would be issued that in all the guarded confines of Hindustan this false sect be progagated".[1]

Mir Nur Ullah reached Hindustan at the time when Akbar was staying at Lahore. He was introduced to the emperor by Hakim Abul Fath Gilani and was asked to join the royal service. Even at the first instance the emperor was so much impressed by him, that he proposed to him to take the charge of the judgeship of Lahore. He accepted the job on the condition that his judgment would be independent of the decress issued by any of the four schools of Sunnite jurisprudence. Akbar accepted his condition and he started to function as an independent judge. Though he took decision according to the Shiite jurisprudence, but as they were in conformity with the Sunnite schools, therefore no one even his opponents, could dare take any exception.

Besides working as judge, he also held meetings of religious discourse and taught the students the jurisprudence of all the four Sunnite school. He was so popular among the plebeians and dignitaries that in spite of the sectarian

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1. Extracted from *Rauzat ul Qayyumya* MSS. Jawaher Museum collection No. 46 (PERSIAN) Aligarh Muslim University Library, fols. 151-153.

differenes he was highly regarded even by his opponents, as Mullah Abdul Qadir Badauni writes:

> "Qazi Nurullah Shustari though belongs to the Shiite sect, yet is gifted with the attributes of equity, justice, virtue, modesty, piety and (many other) noble qualities. He is renowned for his learning, tolerance, excellence, prudence, sobriety and generosity. He is the author of many valuable books. He wrote review of Sawate ul Ilham, a non-sensical commentary of Sheikh Faizi which is beyond the limit of appreciation and commendation. He has also poetic genius and composes heart pleasing verses.[1]

Mir Abdullah Afandi, one of the contemporaries of Qazi Nurullah, writes about him:

"Wa Huwa awwalo man azhara al Tashayyu' fi bilad il hind alanyatan"[2] [It was he who preached (the tenets of) Shiite sect openly in cities of Hind (Hindustan)]. This can fairly be said that so long as he stayed at Lahore, he rendebed Valuable service to the propagation and diffusion of the Shiite jurisprudence the parallel to which would not be found in the history of Shiism of this sub-continent.

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1. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* Vol.III, pp.137-138.

2. *Riyaz ul Ulama,* edited by Saiyid Ahmad Husaini Ishkavari, Ayat ullah Mara'shi library, Qum(Iran). Vol.II, p.1.

In the same year when Qazi Nurullah Shustari was appointed the judge of Lahore, he wrote the book ***Masaib un nawasib*** in which he rejected the views of Mirza Makhdum Sharifi which he had expressed in the book ***Rawafiz.*** The book ***Ihqaq ul Haqq,*** was also written by him to reject the views of Mulla Ruzbahan Khunji which he had laid bare in the book *Ibtal ul batil.* At the same time, he also wrote the book *Majalis ul Mu'minin.*

By the end of the reign of Akbar,[1] he served as chief justice of Lahore. Whatever his opponents spoke against him to the emperor proved of no consequence. But, in the early days of Jahangir (1014-1037 A.H./1605-1627 A.D.), a number of religious doctors of Sunnite sect brought the charge of heresy against him on the strength of the book he had written to condemn their sectarian tenets and that he gave judgements, according to Shiite jurisprudence in the case of Sunnite Muslims. This, they pleaded, would cause a great loss to Islamic faith and as a result, heresy would become quite rampant. They also requested the emperor to dismiss him from the post of judgeship of Lahore. Jahangir replied that his father had appointed him to that post with certain conditions and he had no reasonable ground or pretext on the basis of which he could remove him from his office. But, there was such a great pressure upon him that he had no way, and he transferred him to Agra where he acted as the judge of military court.

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1. *Arafat ul Ashiqin,* fol.777.

But, his adversarise did not rest content. One of them was Mir Kalan Muhaddis, a resident of Agra and one of the tutors of the emperor. He wrote the book, *Sammul Favariz fi zamm il ravafiz* against Shiism. The other was Qazi Muhammad Aslam of Herat. He had declared that it was permissible and one of the ingredients of loyalty to Islam to burn the book of the Shiah sect. Hence the book *Kafi* of Siqat ul Islam Kulaini was set ablaze on the pulpit of the mosque. As both of them were very close to the emperor, they provoked the emperor against him and got issued the order that it was laaful to kill Qazi Narullah. Finally, he was martyred by the order of the emperor in 1019 A.H.1610 A.D. and was buried in Agra.[1]

Among the eminent persons who migrated to Hindustan during the Safavi period were: Baba Talib Isfahani,[2] Vafai Isfahni,[3] Sheikh Abul Wajid Farighi

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1. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi,* vol.II, Section II, p.210. *Tarikh-i-Pansad Sala-i-Khuzistan* by Ahmad Kasravi, 2nd edition, 1356, 1356 A.H./1971 A.D. p.257.

2. *Ma-asir-i-Rahimi,* Vol.III, p.1259, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol.I, p.533, *Mer-at ul alam,* Vol.II, by Muhammad Bakhtawar Khan Lahore 1979 A.D. p.614, *Sham-i-Ghariban* by Lachhmi Narain Shafiq, Karachi, 1977 A.D., p.165. *Tazkira-i-Ruz-i-Roshan* by Mulavi Muhammad Muzaffar Husain Saba, Tehran 1343 A.H. (1964 A.D.), p.493. *Tazkerat ul Shuara* by Abdul Ghani Khan Muhammad, Tehran 1916 A.D., p.82. *Bazm-i-Timuria* (Urdu), by Abdul Rahman Sabahuddin, Asamgarh 1973, vol.I, pp.355 and 511, and *Tazkira-i-Shuara-i-Kashmir* by Islah Mirza, Lahore, 1346 A.H. (1962 A.D.) vol.II,p.666.

3. *Sham-i-Ghariban* p.278, *Bazm-i-Timuria,* Vol.I, p.557, *Tazkira-i-Shuara-i-Kashmir,* vol.IV, p.1672.

Harvi,[1] Qaimi Mazandarani,[2] Mir Mughisuddin Mahvi Asadabadi Hamadani[3] and Khwaja Muhammad Dihdar[4] Shirazi pen named Fani. Maulana Muhammad Sufi Mazandrani,[5] Sheikh Sa'ad uddin Rehai Khawfi,[6] Sharif-i-Kashi,[7] Amani Isfahani[8] and Raza-i-Farsi known as Shirazi.[9]

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1. *Muntakhab ul Tawarikh*, vol.I, pp.475-477.

2. *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.III, p.132, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Litho printing, 1869 A.D., Lucknow, Vol.I, p.320.

3. *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol.III, p.796-806, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, p.311; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.499, *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.II, pp.561-564; *Khairul Bayan*, fol.276; *Majmaul Khawas*, p.91; *Tazkira-i-Nasrabadi*, pp.259-260.

4. *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol.707; *Sham-i-Ghariban*, pp.186-187, *Subh-i-Gulshan*, p.307.

5. *Tazkira-i-But Khana*, p.478; *Khairul Bayan*, fols. 340-341, *Arafat*, fol.702-703.

6. *Habib ul Siyar*, Vol.IV, pp.12-13, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.294, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, p.314, *Haft Asman*, p.105.

7. *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol.II, pp.362-372, Vol.III, pp.

8. *Muntakhabul Tawarikh*, Vol.III, p.184; *Haft Iqlim*, Vol.II, pp.347-377.

9. *Ruz-i-Roshan*, p.245, Riyaz ul Arifin, p.245, *Tarikh-i-Nazm o nasr dar Iran*, pp.676-709, *Arafat*, fol.269.

CONCLUSIONS

Abusaid Khan Bahadur was the last Mughal ruler of Ilkhani dynasty. He died in 736 A.H./1335 A.D., the year in which the birth of Timur son of Targhay took place. With his death the whole fabric of the Mughal empire in Persia was shattered to pieces and his nobles drew their swords against each other which led Persia again to the verge political crises and chaotic conditions.

The result of the lust for power divided the single vast Mughal empire into several small principalities and the local Jalayeris, Ilkhani, Chupani, Muzaffari, Inju, and Tagha Timuri chiefs declared their independence. With them the chiefs of Aq quyunlu and Qara quyunlu clans did not lag behind to declare themselves also as independent rulers.

In this crucial state Timur passed his childhood and the days of his youth. But, very soon, he overcame this situation. He overthrew many of his contemporary rulers and finally by the year 771 A.H./1371 A.D. he was the undisputed ruler of Transoxiana. He after fully establishing his political power in his homeland, started attacks beyond his own territories and ransacked many reigions, particularly Persia.

Persia, had hardly recovered from the ravages of the Mughal invasion, that it became victim of the outrage of Timur who by his successive attacks from 790 to 807 A.H./1388-1404 A.D., did so much damage to this country that it could not be compensated for in the coming centuries. His onslaughts caused economic crisis, social injustice, moral deterioration and migration of some people to peaceful places, particularly to Hindustan.

In those days of adversity measures were also taken by Timur, and later by his successors for social and cultural reforms. For that purpose the cities of Samarqand and Bukhara were developed. Schools, monasteries, mosques and charity house were built in every nook and corner much attention was paid to

historiography with the purpose of recording the achievements of Timur and his predecessors.

Artists and artisans were patronized so that they might produce master pieces in painting, calligraphy, architecture and glazed tile work, and religious scholars were received warmly and treated with reverence. But, all that was done by plundering other cities and dragging men of letters to keep them as show-pieces at their courts so that they might boast of their superiority over others.

Under these undesirable political, social and cultural conditions, prevailing in the society over which Timur and his successors ruled, some saints trusted by the people and to whom the people paid homage at their monasteries raised their voice against the oppressive deeds of Timur and his agents. The first politico-religious movement that came into being in Persia was the movement of Sarbedaran, started by Sheikh Khalifa Mazandarani and was continued by his disciple, Sheikh Hasan Jouri. Their Slogan was "Let not pitch any Turk or Tartar his tent in Persia, uproot them even at the cost of your heads." It was for this reason that it was called Sarbedaran movement.

This movement inspired all other movements such as Mara'shi movement in Mazandaran under the leadership of Saiyid Qawwam Uddin Mara'shi; Hurufi movement under the leadership of Saiyid Fazlullah Naimi Astarabadi; Nuqtavi movement under the leadership of Mahmud Pasikhani, one of the disciples of Fazlullah, Nur Bakhshi movement under the guidance of Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh and others.

Besides the above mentioned politico-religious movements, one was founded by Sheikh Safiuddin of Ardabil who was one of the disciples of Sheikh Zahid of Gilan. Sheikh Safi, after the death of his spiritual guide laid the

foundation of the Safavi order, which in the beginning was purely a sufistic movement and all his disciples, in Persia and out of its boundaries, particularly at Anatolia, strictly followed his guide lines and had very cordial relations with each other. After Sheikh Safi, his other successors were Sheikh Sadruddin Musa, Khwaja Ali and Sheikh Ibrahim. By this time there had been no change in the system laid down by Sheikh Safi. But, when he was succeeded by Sheikh Junaid it was turned into a politico-religious movement. This is also noteworthy here, that Sheikh Safi, the founder of this sufistic order, belonged to the sunnite sect, but at the time when Khwaja Ali was the spiritual head of Sheikh Safi's order some of the members of his family particularly Sheikh Junaid showed deep inclination towards shiism. The reason was the influence of those of his disciples who lived at Anatolia, with the result that he succeeded in mustering a strength of ten thousand disciples, fully equipped with arms. Though, Junaid, was killed in the war that he fought against Jahan Shah Qara quyunlu, but in fact he was the real founder of the Safavi dynasty. It was he who brought his disciples from monasteries into battle field, took rosaries from their hands and gave them swords, spears and daggers instead. As he was a good commander, he successfully led his soldier-disciples and fought against his enemies.

Sheikh Haidar, son of Sultan Junaid became the successor of his father. He was more prejudiced than his father in his support to the Shiite sect. He introduced a new sect among the Shiism, called Haidaria, which proved detrimental after wards to the Muslims in general all over the world and to the Iranians and the inhabitants of their neighboring countries like Ottoman Turks and Uzbeks, in particular. His main emphasis was on his hatred against the Muslims of the sunnite sect whom he treated like enemies. He introduced libertinism among his disciples. He instilled in their minds that the observance

of the fundamental principles of Islam (calling prayer, keeping fast etc) was not compulsory for them. He also like his father made Shiite sect a means to achieve his target, changed his title and adopted Sultan. He introduced for his disciple soldier a new head gear of red colour, having twelve rose-like petals on it, impressing upon them that they were under the blessing of the twelve Imams, and called it Kulah-i-Qizilbash (Red crown) and made them believe that he was appointed from the unseen world for that purpose.

After the assasination of Sultan Haidar in the battlefield, Ismail, his son continued his political campaign. As he received his training under the extremely conservative Shiite Muslims of Anatolia, so he proved more orthodox than his father in dealing with his opponents. He stabilized the Shiite sect in Persia according to his own will and pleasure. The success of Safavis in political arena brought independence to the country and restored its political boundaries, but, as they had very little knowledge regarding Islamic faith, they couldn't fulfil all the ambitions of the Persians, particularly their cultural aspect, and this was one of the reasons behind the differences that developed between Nuqtavis and Safavis.

This has been already mentioned that Safavis had evolved cordial relations with the Turks of Anatolia, and so they were greatly influenced by their culture and religious thoughts. Mahmud Pasikhani, finding their inclination towards them launched another movement called Nuqtavi. The aim of this movement was to revive Persian language and culture. Keeping this view in his mind he declared himself the restorer of Persia.

The Safavis after establishing Shia state in Persia paid attention to develop their relations with the Timuris of Hindustan. This attempt, for the first time, was made by Shah Ismail and Babur. The main reason of which was the

expansionist policy of Shaybak Khan Uzbek, the common enemy of both the dynasties. Though, Babur and Shaybak Khan observed the tenets of the Sunnite sect, yet they did not see eye to eye as he had occupied Samarqand, the land of Babur's ancestor Timur, Shah Ismail, was an orthodox Shiah, who preached Shiite sect in Persia and killed many Muslims of the Sunnite sect, but as Shaybak Khan had attacked Khurasan, therefore he was the common enemy of both. This common enemy united both of them. These relations became stronger when Shah Ismail after defeating Shaybak Khan in the Marv War, killed him and sent Khanzada Begum, the sister of Babur with full honour to her brother, who saw her after twelve years. These relations between Safavis and Timuris of Hindustan were political, but when Humayun regained his throne with the help of Shah Tahmasb Safavi, cultural relations also developed between the two, because many scholars, artists, artisans and religious doctors had come with Humayun when he regained his lost kingdom.

These cultural and political relations took a new turn during the reign of Akbar (963-1014 A.H./1555-1605 A.D.). Politically Akbar harboured an ill feeling against the Persian who had occupied Qandhar. His resentment was noticed first time when he did not send his condolence mission to Persia at the death of Shah Tahmasb. His indignation is also reflected in the cold reception of the envoy of Shah Abbas I who had come to Hindustan in 996 A.H./1587 A.D. to seek his help against the Uzbeks. The mission was allowed to go back to Persia, after being detained for five years. Abdullah Khan Uzbek wanted to take advantage of these cold relations between Akbar and Shah Abbas I. He, being a strong enemy of Safavis, tried to make alliance with Akbar in order to crush the Persians. He, with this intention, sent a delegation to Hindustan and proposed a joint attack on Persia. Akbar taking into consideration the relations of his

ancestors (Babur and Humayun) and the political asylum of his father in Persia, on the one hand and the growing power of Abdullah Khan Uzbek on the other did not think wise to accept his proposal.

These relations between Persia and Hindustan became normal when Qandhar was recaptured by Timuris of Hindustan and diplomatic relation retained between the two countries. This is noteworthy here that as long as Akbar was alive Shah Abbas I did not raise the Qandhar issue.

Shah Abbas I was simultaneously facing two enemies on the frontiers of his kingdom. In the East were Uzbeks and in the West were the Ottoman Turks. Both of them had occupied several cities of Persia and had played such a great havoc on its borders that the inhabitants of those areas were forced to migrate to some other neighbouring countries. Shah Abbas I knew that he could not fight against both the enemies at the same time, particularly with the Ottoman Turks who were more powerful than the other in the region. Under this situation he made peace treaty with them and transferred many cities of the Western part of Persia to the Ottoman empire. Now, by adopting this policy he was able to meet the challenge of the Uzbeks. By defeating them in the East, he liberated Khurasan province. After that he paid his attention towards the bordering areas occupied by the Ottoman Turks and set them free from their hold.

Shah Abbas, besides these two external problems, was also confronting an internal problem and that was the existence of the chiefs of Qizilbashi clans. This has been mentioned earlier that Safavis came in power with the support of Qizilbashi sufis. Now, what made Shah Abbas I extremely anxious was their increasing strength in the country. He was afraid that they could revolt against him as they had done earlier during the reign of his father. He started to eliminate them and thus was able to solve his political problems.

Having solved the internal and external problems he paid his attention to the establishment of cultural relations with other countries, particularly with Hindustan. This is a historical fact that Persian scholars, artists and craftsmen eagerly came to Hindustan in a very large number either with Humayun, when he attacked this country to regain his lost kingdom or were invited later, as they were promised by him. In addition to that there were two other factors which from sociological point of view are termed as repulsive and attractive forces. The repulsive factor pertained to the means of subsistence of the immigrants whereas the attractive factor was related to the object of their journey. Besides the threat of Qizilbashis and the hostility of Uzbeks and Ottoman Turks, which played very important role in the migration of the people from Persia, there were also some other factors which are as follows :-

1. Revolt of Shah Ismail I; his and his successors' sectarian prejudice;
2. The charge of irreligiosity and Nuqtavis.
3. Lassitude of the high-ranking officers during the reign of Shah Ismail II and massacre of the princes who were the great patron of poetry.
4. Unfavourable economic conditions during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Khuda Banda, particularly during the reign of Shah Abbas I.,
5. Suppression of Qizilbashi chiefs during the reign of Shah Abbas I.
6. Conflicts between Safavis and darvishes.
7. Indifference of Safavi rulers towards Persian language and literature.

The attractive factors in Hindustan for the immigrants belonging to different arts and crafts:

1. Non-prejudicial attitude of Timuri rulers of Hindustan regarding cast, creed, custom culture and sects, particularly of Akbar's liberalism, his

belief in peaceful co-existence and the propagation of the doctrines of Din-i Illahi (the Divine religion), enunciated by him:

2. Comparative favourable political stability in Hindustan and strong foundation of Akbar's empire;
3. Better economic conditions in Hindustan, conferment of high ranks on the Persian and patronization of Persian literature.
4. Excessive support by Timuris to poets, artists artisans and religious schoalrs. Critical evaluation of literary works, which improved the quality of cultural and literary achievements.
5. Spiritual atmosphere and the spirit of peaceful co existence in the country which attracted many saints and hermits towards it.
6. Regional peculiarities, geographic situation and natural condition of the country fascinated many poets, travellers and traders.

All the above mentioned factors played very important role in the migration of the Persians during Safavi period. This is also worth mentioning here, that all the immigrants, were patronized by Timuri kings and their nobles in such a great measure that every one of them got engaged in developing his skill, contributed to the rapid growth and development of Persian art, literature and culture.

The process of immigration of the Persians in Hindustan started some time in pre historic days which continued down to the reign of the great Mughals. As the people of both the countries, belong to the same racial stock, particularly in the North West region, speak any one of the branches of Indo-European languages and follow the same cultural values, so the immigrants never felt themselves strangers in the region. The relations between the two countries specifically developed after the advent of Islam, and during Timuri

reign in Hindustan they reached their zenith. Under their generous patronage, Persian literature, developed in the realm of lexicography, translations from Sanskrit into Persian, biography writing and history writing. In fine arts, Persian music, architecture, painting and calligraphy also grew to great heights in this country and established independent school in every field. In short, common cultural values played very important role in developing good relations between the two countries.

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